

# MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY

June, 1943

FAY FISHER. <i>The "Vilain" in Authority</i> .....	139
H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER. <i>Boileau's Propaganda for Molière and His Tronpe</i> .....	157
WILLIAM E. WILSON. <i>Tirso's 'Privar Contra Su Gusto': A Defense of the Duke of Osuna</i> .....	161
REGINALD CALL. <i>"Whan He His Papir Soghte" (Chau- cer's 'Cook's Tale,' A 4404)</i> .....	167
VERNON HALL, JR. <i>Decorum in Italian Renaissance Literary Criticism</i> .....	177
THOMAS B. STROUP. <i>Implications of the Theory of Climatic Influence in Milton</i> .....	185
J. H. NEUMANN. <i>Jonathan Swift and the Vocabulary of English</i> .....	191
CARLOS BAKER. <i>The Traditional Background of Shel- ley's Ivy-Symbol</i> .....	205
EDWIN H. ZEYDEL. <i>Johannes a Lapide and Sebastian Brant</i> .....	209
A. J. PRAHL. <i>America in the Works of Gerstäcker</i> .....	213
JOHN J. PARRY. <i>A Bibliography of Critical Arthurian Literature for the Year 1942</i> .....	225
REVIEWS .....	233
BOOKS RECEIVED .....	263

Volume Four

Number Two

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON PRESS  
SEATTLE

# **MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY**

Edited by

EDWARD GODFREY COX

*Managing Editor*

DUDLEY D. GRIFFITH

CURTIS C. D. VAIL

HOWARD LEE NOSTRAND

*Direct Contributions and Business Correspondence to*

Managing Editor, Modern Language Quarterly

Parrington Hall

University of Washington

Seattle

Subscription price \$2.00 per year : : Single copies \$0.75

Issued in March, June, September, December

Entered as second-class matter May 6, 1940, at the post office at Seattle, Washington,  
under the Act of March 3, 1879.

PRINTED IN U. S. A.







# MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY

Volume Four

June, 1943

Number Two

## ARTICLES

- Fay Fisher. *The Vilain in Authority* . . . . . 139
- H. Carrington Lancaster. *Boileau's Propaganda for Molière and His Troupe* . . . . . 157
- William E. Wilson. *Tirso's *Privar Contra Su Gusto*: A Defense of the Duke of Osuna* . . . . . 161
- Reginald Call. "Whan He His Papir Soghte" (Chaucer's *Cook's Tale*, A 4404) . . . . . 167
- Vernon Hall, Jr. *Decorum in Italian Renaissance Literary Criticism* . . . . . 177
- Thomas B. Stroup. *Implications of the Theory of Climatic Influence in Milton* . . . . . 185
- J. H. Neumann. *Jonathan Swift and the Vocabulary of English* . . . . . 191
- Carlos Baker. *The Traditional Background of Shelley's Ivy-Symbol* . . . . . 205
- Edwin H. Zeydel. *Johannes a Lapide and Sebastian Brant* . . . . . 209
- A. J. Prahl. *America in the Works of Gerstäcker* . . . . . 213
- John J. Parry. *A Bibliography of Critical Arthurian Literature for the Year 1942* . . . . . 225

## REVIEWS

- Robert J. Clements. *Critical Theory and Practice of the Pléiade*. [Edward F. Meylan] . . . . . 233
- C. Wesley Bird. *Alfred de Vigny's Chatterton: A Contribution to the Study of its Genesis and Sources*. [Arnold C. Rowbotham] . . . . . 235
- Artine Artinian. *Maupassant Criticism in France, 1880-1940. With an Enquiry into his Present Fame and a Bibliography*. [Harold March] . . . . . 236

Pierre Brodin. Les Écrivains Français de L'entre-deux-guerres. [ <i>Albert Schinz</i> ]	238
Arturo Torres-Rioseco. The Epic of Latin-American Literature. [ <i>George W. Umphrey</i> ]	240
Paul S. Clarkson and Clyde T. Warren. The Law of Property in Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Drama. [ <i>T. W. Baldwin</i> ]	242
Ruth Hughey (editor). The Correspondence of Lady Katharine Paston, 1603-1627. [ <i>Hoyt H. Hudson</i> ]	243
Gerald Eades Bentley. The Jacobean and Caroline Stage: Dramatic Companies and Players. [ <i>James G. McManaway</i> ]	245
James Granville Southworth. Vauxhall Gardens. [ <i>Karl Pfeiffer</i> ]	247
Anne Kimball Tuell. John Sterling: A Representative Victorian. [ <i>John W. Dodds</i> ]	249
John W. Dodds. Thackeray: A Critical Portrait. [ <i>Sophus Keith Winther</i> ]	251
Thomas Clark Pollock. The Nature of Literature: Its Relation to Science, Language, and Human Experience. [ <i>W. F. Bryan</i> ]	252
Philo M. Buck, Jr. Directions in Contemporary Literature. [ <i>Marvin T. Herrick</i> ]	253
George Stuart Gordon. Anglo-American Literary Relations. [ <i>Charles Duffy</i> ]	256
Dieter Cunz. Ulrich Zwingli. [ <i>J. H. Groth</i> ]	257
Elizabeth Seldon. China in German Poetry from 1773-1833. [ <i>George H. Danton</i> ]	258
Paul Ben Baginsky. German Works Relating to America, 1493-1800. A List Compiled from the Collections of the New York Public Library. [ <i>Lawrence M. Price</i> ]	260
Charles Wharton Stork (translator). Anthology of Norwegian Lyrics. [ <i>E. J. Vickner</i> ]	261
Books Received	263

## THE VILAIN IN AUTHORITY

By FAY FISHER

Car por oïr conter en conte,  
Ne set nus hon, a coi il monte.

Romances of the twelfth century have been little studied for their testimony about the public affairs of their time. But two such works, *Partonopeus de Blois* and Gautier d'Arras's *Eracles*, do suggest that their authors wrote with political intent, one against, the other for, the elevation of a low-born man to power. It is probable that *Partonopeus* makes allusion to the humble birth of Abbot Suger, the minister of Louis VI and Louis VII. At any rate, its protest against the *vilain* in authority is purposeful and emphatic. Further, a striking opposition exists between this theme and that of *Eracles*: all honor to an able and pious minister, even though he began as a slave! As far as I know, this correspondence in matter between the two romances has not been noticed. Indeed, Jean Renart's protest (early thirteenth century) against low-born men in authority has been pronounced unique.<sup>1</sup> The same element in *Partonopeus* has been briefly mentioned elsewhere<sup>2</sup> but without indication of its extent or relations in the romance. My purpose here is to survey the political allusions in *Partonopeus de Blois* and *Eracles* and to suggest contemporary social reasons for such emphasis by their authors.

*Partonopeus de Blois* (ed. Crapelet, Paris, 1834) is the story of a high-born youth, nephew of King Clovis and descendant of Priam. He was lured away from the hunt one day, was carried on a magic vessel to a magic city where feasts were set and lights were burning but where he could neither see nor hear anyone. There he had a nocturnal encounter with a damsel and became her lover. He feared she was a demon, but she told him that she was Empress of Byzantium and that she had contrived to bring him to her city in order that he might remain invisible for two years and a half and then be presented to her nobles as her husband. Until the end of that time she laid on him a taboo: he must not try to see her. When he had gone

<sup>1</sup> Rita Lejeune-Dehousse, *L'Œuvre de Jean Renart* (Paris, 1935), p. 60: "On pourrait aisément multiplier les exemples pour arriver à cette conclusion que les romanciers de la fin du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle et du début du XIII<sup>e</sup> ne discutent jamais la conception gouvernementale des rois ou des barons qu'ils mettent en scène; le point de vue politique ne les intéresse pas."

<sup>2</sup> V. F. Koenig, "Jean Renart and the Authorship of *Galeran de Bretagne*," *Modern Language Notes*, XLIX (1934), 248-255.

back to France on a visit—and had spent some time in defending the country from a horde of Saracens of the North—he was influenced by his mother to return to the Empress and break the taboo. Then he was cast out, languished for a year in repentance and in the special sufferings of *fine amor*, and after that returned incognito to win a magnificent tournament, the prize of which was his lady's hand.

This courtly story, then, gives the author his chance to contend against the raising of uncourtly men to power. Here are some examples of the protest:

Of Clodion, son of Faramond, first king of France, it is said

Ains alevoit fils à vilains  
Félons et cruels et ferains,  
Qui à contés et à demaines  
Faisoient et hontes et paines. (425-428)

But in the reign of the good Clovis

Cascuns de ses homes tenoit  
Tot à mesure, en son endroit.  
Fils à vilain, por nul loier,  
Ne fust jà clers ne chevalier. (469-472)

Again, of Partonopeus himself

Et seit ses dons bien aséoir  
Et doner as bons par savoir,  
Et as autres si sains dangier  
Que ne l'en puet nus calengier,  
N'endroit lui n'a mestier éur,  
De ce soit bien cascuns séur,  
Que qui plus seit et qui miols valt,  
Cel aime plus et plus met haut.  
Éurs n'est riens en droit segnor  
Qui sages est et violt honor;  
Car cis aime miols les mellors,  
Et tient bas sos piés les piors;

Mais qui aime losengeor  
Tost ameroit tot le pior.  
Sire qui aime malvestié  
A tost prodrom mesproisié,  
Et le mauvais qui samble lui  
A tost levé et mis en pui;  
Et li fols hom le fol alieve,  
Et folement sovraigne acieve. (4319-4338)

No sly artistry about these passages! They grind their axe audibly. But when the whole romance is considered, the author is

seen to have used a larger technique, also, for his propagandizing. He shapes two parts of his story, one of them long and elaborate, to this purpose of protest against the *vilain* in government. Of these two he uses the first, to lose no time, at the beginning of the "historical" induction to the whole narrative; and this first horrible example of the base-born minister is, of all persons, Anchises!

Mais Anchises les a traï,  
Que Priamus avoit norri,  
Uns fils à diable, uns getés,  
Qui disoit qu'il ert des Deus des,  
Por ço qu'il ne savoit son père  
A le gent nomer, ne sa mère. (251-256)

There was a *vilain* whose low mercantile instincts sold out Priam and Troy! Partonopeus himself, though, was of the blood of Hector and therefore had never a thought of material gain. The warning against the *vilain* is explicit enough. But it gains force later for a reader who has moved on through the second and more elaborate of the two parts, mentioned above, in the author's narrative design for his protest. This is the story of Sornegur, leader of the Saracens of the North, and Marés, his base-born minister. Since this episode, not intrinsic in the Cupid and Psyche tale which is the basis of the romance, occupies nearly 1800 lines of the total 10,856,<sup>8</sup> and since the author's indignation here achieves some dramatic force, I should like to summarize this part of *Partonopeus*.

The young King Lothair of France has garrisoned the castle of Pontoise against Sornegur and his Norsemen from *Guenelande* and *Orcanie*, *Irlande*, and *Danemarche*, who are at Gisors and at *Chaars*. Partonopeus comes to aid the king, bringing cavaliers who would not come except at his summons—"Loherenc, Frison, Flamenc, Poitevin, Gascon, Normant, Breton, cil del Maine et cil del France, Aleman, Saisne et Tiois, cil de Melans et de Pavie et Lonbardie" (2339-2343).

The Saracens hold council, Sornegur seated under an apple tree. They debate whether to take the large gifts offered by the King of France and go home or to carry on the war. Marés speaks, "qui justice ert et cuens palés; mout seut de conseil et de lois: en son conseil manoit le rois." (It is significant that he is thus introduced: as one who knew law.) When he advises giving up the war, Sornegur sees that he has been betrayed. Outraged in his pride, Sornegur

<sup>8</sup> Crapelet's text, cited above, rests chiefly upon MS Bibl. de l'Arsenal 194. The continuation included in some manuscripts was clearly not composed by the same author but belongs to the *chansons de geste* according to both verse form and matter. See E. Pfeiffer, *Über die Handschriften des altfranzösischen Romans Partonopeus* (Diss., Marburg, 1887).

goes to his quarters, shuts the door, and throws himself on his bed to weep (2540).

His soliloquy fills a hundred lines: passionate self-blame for having raised this ingrate to power; enumeration of the wrongs done his realm and his nobles by this corrupt official; an elegiac yearning for the times when the nobles were still loyal to him, before the base Marés impoverished and oppressed them. Now he faces his own tragedy and theirs.

Mengier me devroient mastin  
Quant d'un vilain fis palasin. (2557-8)

S'or eusce mes cevaliers,  
Dont jo ai plus de cent milliers,  
Mes demaines, mes vavasors,  
N'eusce soing d'autre socors.  
Cil entendissent à m'onor,  
Et me servissent par amor:  
Ains se laissascent tot morir  
Qu'il me souffrissent ahonir;  
Mais cil traître les a mors,  
Els m'a tolus et lor esfors:  
N'ont que boire ne que mangier,  
Ne que vendre, ne qu'engagier,  
N'il n'ont armes, n'en coi monter,  
N'en puent cinq le siste armer,  
Et nis lor terres et lor fiés  
A usures ont engagiés.  
En lor cuers forment me maldient,  
Et moult orellent et espient,  
Quant il veront liu d'els vengier  
Por moi destruire et escillier. (2611-2630)

A faithful clerk comes at Sornegur's command and, when he hears the king accuse Marés, answers with a long and strong accusation of his own. He and his fellow-subjects, he says, have hated the false Marés all the time (2702).

Sornegur sends the clerk to the French camp with a challenge to single combat—received by the King of France, who can read, as Sornegur cannot. Partonopeus insists on taking the challenge. A detailed account follows of the fortunes of this combat. When Partonopeus has a decided advantage, Marés brings a thousand of his men, secretly armed by him against Sornegur's command. They swoop down suddenly and capture Partonopeus (3490).

Sornegur asks some of his allies to kill Marés, then he himself goes to the King of France and offers to do homage to him. He explains that all the treachery was wrought by the *vilain* whom he

had raised to power. The king receives his fealty and his friendship. Sornegur's allies come bringing Partonopeus and announcing that they have killed "old Marés." One of them leaves with the king his "gage d'à droit ester" because he has put Marés to death; he elaborates in a speech of seventy lines the necessity for this execution (3800).

It is clear that grievance against the *vilain* gives momentum to all this part of *Partonopeus*. It even rises to something like dramatic vigor and eloquence, gives a motive to the deeds of arms, and has a fresh lyric strain of pathos. Sornegur's lament for the good times gone by is truly expressive. Not only that, but it seems to me to modify the romance convention of the love-soliloquy to a new use. The basic pattern of the *chansons de geste*, then, is used in this part of the story to show the more varied texture of romance, although without the distinguishing love-element of romance. Some of the later parts of the narrative—the tournament, for example, and the heroine's soliloquy—seem flat by comparison. The author had not only been prompted to protest against power for any *vilain*; he had brooded over the subject until he treated it with some imaginative force.

But how *was* he prompted, and when? Who was he? The manuscript breaks off just as it is finishing its story with a brilliant triple wedding; it has no helpful dedication or signature. The romance has been dated only within wide limits: after the romance of *Eneas* (circa 1155) and before *La Vie Seint Edmunt* by Denis Piramus (circa 1170-1180). Denis mentions *Partonopeus* together with the *lais* of Marie de France as delightful fiction. But this romance and the *lais* of Marie's time have a closer relationship; they drew from the same body of story materials—for example, the magic ship, and the taboo imposed by a sovereign woman and broken by her lover—and they show kinship of interests and tone. Yet this fact is only a very general indication of the time of *Partonopeus*.

For further help in setting the time of the romance its own allusions may be used with caution. First, in the episode which I have summarized above, the fighting around Gisors between the French and their generous foeman from the North is certainly reminiscent of the struggle of Henry I of England to get possession of Gisors. As the Abbé Suger himself tells that story in his *Gesta Ludovici Regis Cognomento Grossi*,<sup>4</sup> he praises Henry—shows him a magnanimous warrior somewhat as the author of *Partonopeus* shows Sornegur. Moreover the single combat in the romance; the semblance of legal process (though not for the same cause); and the

<sup>4</sup> *Vie de Louis le Gros par Suger suivie de l'histoire du roi Louis VII*, ed. A. Molinier (Paris, 1887), p. 45.

homage done by the Northern chieftain to the King of France, all correspond at least loosely to passages in the *Gesta*.<sup>5</sup> The swearing of fealty recalls, too, how Henry of Anjou, "qui postea regnum Anglorum optinuit," received the fief of Normandy from Louis VII (*Vie de Louis le Gros*, p. 161). It is not necessary to assume that the author of *Partonopeus* read of these things in Suger's account or that of Suger's continuator. It is enough that they were matter of chronicle in Suger's time—enough to suggest one field of this poet's interests.

The second historical allusion to be considered is that in the hero's name, to the family of the counts of Blois. Patronage from this family, actual or expected, may well have been the author's reason, of course, for the *de Blois*. Between this noble line and the throne of France relations had long been turbulent. Thibaud IV of Blois (and Chartres) allied himself against Louis VI at various times in the first half of the twelfth century, with a group of nobles, with Henry I of England, with the notorious Hugues du Puiset. From time to time he was reconciled to the crown. At peace with his king in the period when the marriage was planned between young Louis and Eleanor of Aquitaine, he accompanied the prince on his journey to fetch his bride. Upon the youth's accession as Louis VII, Thibaud, one of the objects of conciliation suggested by Suger, became an ally of the throne. But the next year the Count refused to accompany Louis on an expedition to subdue Poitiers, and soon there was war between the young king and the Count of Blois, this time lasting three years (1141-1144). Then an alliance was made which became firmer as the family of Blois perhaps wished more and more for reënforcement against the Plantagenets.

What is of closer interest here, Thibaud's eldest son, Henry, may have been rather a shining figure at the time of gathering forces for the second crusade. Saint Bernard apparently sent him, in promotion of the crusade, to the Emperor Manuel of Constantinople to receive

<sup>5</sup> Here are three passages from the *Gesta* called into question respectively by the three motifs mentioned above:

*Ibid.*, p. 50. "Quod cum nec approbassent nec convenienter reprobassent, rex Ludovicus, ut erat magnanimus et animo et corpore procerus, citissime dirigit qui regi hoc disjungant, aut castrum subvertere aut de fracte fidei perfidia contra se personaliter defendere: 'Age, inquiens, ejus debet congressionis esse pena, cujus veri et victorie debet esse et gloria. . . .'

"Quod quia non fecistis, precipit rex et ut adhuc faciatis, et non factum lege competenti emendetis. Dedecet enim regem transgredi legem, cum et rex et lex eandem imperandi excipiant majestatem. Quod si quid horum vestrates aut dedicerint aut dicere dissimulando noluerint, pleno duorum aut trium testimonio baronum, lege duelli, parati sumus approbare."

P. 52. "Cum autem Guilelmus, regis anglici filius, regi Ludovico hominum suum fecisset, gratia peculiari et peculii prefato castro eodem ejus augmentavit, et hac eum occasione in pristinam gratiam reduxit."



knighthood there.<sup>6</sup> Upon the death of Thibaud IV in 1152, Henry became Count of Champagne; later he married Marie, that daughter of Louis VII who herself became a famous personage. Is it fantastic to read allusion to him in the career of Partonopeus, who we are told was a *tousel*, not yet a knight, when he went to Constantinople; whose name may suggest that fact (*παρθένος* = virgin);<sup>7</sup> who found when he went back to France that his father had died and that he was Count of Blois; who, when he returned unknown to Constantinople to fight in the tournament, presented himself to his lady the Empress for the binding on of his sword; and who, as a reward for his deeds of arms, married the Empress? The action of the finished romance, that is to say, *may* thus touch those parts of Henry's whole career which would naturally command a romancer's efforts.

But the possibility of a more explicit association of the early part of *Partonopeus de Blois* with the youthful Henry is suggested by a letter of Saint Bernard. The young knight did not stay over-long on the crusade which he had helped to begin, and after his return made a youthful gesture which Bernard wrote urging Suger to oppose.

Homines namque illi qui reversi sunt, maledictas illas nundinas post festa paschalia praeferunt, et statuerunt laxatis habenis dominus Henricus filius Comitis et dominus Robertus frater Regis, ut irruant et interficiant semetipsos. . . . Supplico et consulo sublimitati vestrae, quia maximus princeps estis in regno: ut vel dissuasione, vel vi, totis viribus vos opponatis, ne fiat hoc: quia sic convenit honori personae vestrae, et terrae vestrae, et utilitati Ecclesiae Dei (*Patr. Lat.*, clxxxii, 581, *Ep.* cclxxvi).

<sup>6</sup> Migne, *Patrologiae Latinae*, clxxxii, 672. *Epistola* cdlviii, Nicolai Claraevallensis ad Manuelem Comnenum CP. Imperatorem, in personae D. Claraevallensis. . . . "Nullis igitur meis meritis praecedentibus audeo mittere ad thronum gloriae vestrae praesentium latorem, juvenem magnae nobilitatis, ut eum sacramentis militaribus applicetis, et accingatis ei ensem contra inimicos crucis Christi, qui adversus eum extulerunt caput. . . . Quicquid illi, vel pro illo feceritis, mihi factum est."

This is apparently to be accepted as having been written for Saint Bernard.

Another letter, written by the great man to the Countess of Blois (col. 502, *Ep.* ccc), consoled her for her son's behavior toward herself of which she had complained. The son was probably her eldest, Henry, as the editor, Dom Mabillon, says in his note (col. 502 d): "Bernardus hac in epistola agere videtur de Henrico primogenito . . . qui ex Syria redux, et paternae potentiae successione intumescens, in quosdam excessus aetatis fervore abripiebatur." Saint Bernard acknowledges the probable rashness of this son but takes a hopeful and affectionate tone about him: "Si quando in vos filius vester visus est excessisse, doluimus, et dolemus non minus excessum filii, quam matris injuriam: quod tamen et ipsum excusabile est in adolescente filio. . . . Oremus et ploremus coram Domino, ut Deus tantae indolis juvenem, probitas paternae imitorem (quod non diffidimus) sua faciat pietate."

<sup>7</sup> The name Partonopeus itself was perhaps first suggested to this author by the *Roman de Thèbes*.

Perhaps it is too much to suppose that this letter disguises under talk of a tournament its warning about a more serious matter: the plot, which Suger is known to have put down while Louis was still away on the crusade, to enthrone this brother, "dominus Robertus." There is no evidence, for the rest, that Henry was connected with this scheme. Let us assume that Saint Bernard meant no more than he said. It is probable, then, though not certain, that Suger responded to the summons by exhorting the young men. If he did, he must have moved at once into the position of buffer between them and Saint Bernard—and filled it admirably, partly because he had been at home, managing the kingdom and its money while the crusaders suffered intolerable checks and reverses. Now Bernard was the great friend and adviser of Henry's family, whether or not he was actually close to the young man himself; even if Henry knew of Bernard's corrective zeal toward him, he probably could not chide back. Perhaps he could not, or would not, himself be saucy to the able diplomat, Abbot Suger. But it is not hard to imagine that Henry and a like-minded coterie, devoted as yet to chivalry rather than diplomacy or finance, would have enjoyed a minstrel's attack on Suger. And such an attack would almost certainly seek out the minister's vulnerability in his plebian birth. The guess seems permissible—though it must remain a guess—that *Partonopeus de Blois* may have been begun under such auspices. It need not have been under Henry's patronage by the time it was finished.

Who knows what reasons the romancer himself may have had for taking up the theme of the low-born minister! Certainly he had other literary intentions, too, and he had much other story material to use before he should have done his task. The very abundance of the stuffs in *Partonopeus* is one reason for thinking that it was not completed in a hurry. Another reason is that the expressions of disgust with the *vilain* in power come within the first half of the romance. Upon this portion the literary influence of the *chansons de geste* and of lyrics is strong. The latter part, with its conversation about love between the heroine and her confidante; its broken taboo and the expiation tinged at least by the colors of chivalric love; and its narrative crown, the great tournament, is much more in the manner of the *Roman de Thèbes* and the *Roman d'Eneas*. I believe therefore that the romance used up enough time in its making to show some changes in literary allegiance—or at any rate to show successive modulations in the fashion of celebrating chivalry.

If we go on tentatively from the surmise that the early part of *Partonopeus de Blois* had an initial connection with Henry I of Champagne, we can mark a possible time for that connection as 1149, when Saint Bernard wrote the letter to Suger which I have

quoted. And that association—although the completed action of the romance *may* contain an allusion to Henry's marriage—probably did not last after 1152, when Henry inherited his fief of Champagne and became a responsible person in the diplomatic affairs of the whole realm of France. It may be useful to include here something of the course of his relations to the throne. There is no proof that he shared in the plot, mentioned above, to enthrone Robert of Dreux; against his participation there is the evidence of his continuing friendship with Louis, rather a close association, whether heightened or diminished by diplomatic considerations it is hard to tell. The royal policy, which provided for Henry's betrothal to Louis' daughter Marie, was to play off Blois-Champagne against Normandy-Anjou—the sort of game which Suger played patiently and well. It may be that Henry and the great minister came into actual conflict because in the last year of his life Suger dissuaded Louis from a war to be waged against the Plantagenets in behalf of a member of the family of Blois, King Stephen's son Eustace. (I can find no indication that the romance of *Partonopeus* was addressed to the branch of the family in England.) But Henry's share in this plan is too dim to cast any light on our romance. Although the divorce between Louis and Eleanor, which Suger managed to stave off while he lived, helped to bring the house of Blois and the king together against a Plantagenet, yet beginning in 1159 Henry supported the claims of the Anti-Pope Octavian in opposition to Louis' policy and in temporary opposition to the organized French clergy. (On the whole, he is to be recorded as friendly to clerics; it was probably his generosity in the matter of ecclesiastical foundations which caused him to be called *li Large*.) He even threatened to transfer his feudal allegiance from the King of France to Emperor Frederick I and did, indeed, render homage to the Emperor for nine of his castles. Yet, when all the deviations of his and the king's policies have been allowed for, he emerges as Louis' friend and ally. To sum up, then, there is no reason to believe that our romancer named his hero as of Blois because the hero's exploits correspond to anything in Henry's later career. And it is hard to see why, if he began the work after 1152—the year when Henry became Count of Champagne—and still had Henry in mind for patron, he did not, unless for the trifling sake of meter, write about Partonopeus of Champagne. Further, since the tone of the romance toward the *vilain* in authority is that of indignant protest against actual contemporary power, its allusions, if they were directed at Suger, were more probably composed before his death in 1151 than afterward. Accordingly I think it likely that *Partonopeus de Blois* was begun before 1152.

To look ahead for a moment to the romance of *Eracles*, which we shall examine shortly: there is a striking possibility of parallel between the time spacing of its composition and that of *Partonopeus*. Both works may have had to wait for their completion. Gautier d'Arras dedicated *Eracles* at its beginning to Count Thibaud of Blois but at the end said somewhat painfully that, although Thibaud and the Countess Marie had caused it to be begun, the Count of Hainaut had caused it to be finished and was worthier of the author's love than any other prince. Gautier cries out, indeed, that in seventeen years and a half one does not find a good friend. The cry may be rhetorical but it may actually mean that the romance was long unfinished and unfriended. Likewise it is possible that *Partonopeus*, begun perhaps for a small particular circle, was completed later and even for a different audience. At any rate, its protest against giving power to low-born men and its exaggeration of chivalric virtues—in short, its already "reactionary" tone—must have spread in widening circles of interest in the social changes of twelfth-century France.

More than the episodes in Henry's life which have been mentioned, the career of his brother, Thibaud V of Blois, illustrates the large lines of conflict between feudatory and other powers. It is true that Thibaud as well as Henry was closely associated with the royal prestige. In 1154 he became *dapifer*, seneschal, of France and stood next to the king in responsibility for the realm—elevated at least partly for the sake of his help against Henry II of England. For his second wife Thibaud married Alix, younger daughter of Louis and Eleanor, and Louis married Thibaud's daughter for his third wife. The alliance was complete. Yet, even though Thibaud's post in the royal household was honorific, he had his own inheritance to tend, his prestige and revenues to maintain. Along with his fief he had inherited claims to the disposal of church lands and offices in his territory, claims sometimes in conflict with those of the churchmen, however great his total generosity to the clergy. (A letter from his father, Thibaud IV, to Suger<sup>8</sup> says crisply, "Unde vobis notum fieri volo quod regale carnotensis episcopatus de rege in feodum teneo cum alio feodo meo. . .") It is not surprising, then, to find among the cases arbitrated by the *curia regis* in 1156 one between the Abbot of Chartres and Thibaud V.<sup>9</sup> Such cases were not unusual; this one need not have caused a specific outbreak of feeling in Blois against ecclesiastical privilege. Yet it must have been galling to the Count of Blois and others like him to submit to judgment, not by a committee of peers but by a composite body so nearly professional as the

<sup>8</sup> *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, xv, 507.

<sup>9</sup> See A. Luchaire, *Histoire des institutions monarchiques de la France sous les premiers Capétiens* (Paris, 1891), ii, 330.

*curia regis*. To look ahead for a moment, Thibaud's long term of service, begun after the office had lain vacant for two years, was to be the last in the *dapiferat*. When the Count fell before Acre in 1191, Philip Augustus allowed the office to lapse and gave more authority to his *baillis* and other non-hereditary counselors. The growth of this class had been one of the great changes evolved in the century.<sup>10</sup> Luchaire summarized this growth conveniently in concluding his *Histoire des institutions monarchiques des premiers Capétiens*:

Au point de vue administratif, les premiers Capétiens parviennent, après une lutte qui fut vive et de longue durée, à supprimer l'hérédité des grands offices de la couronne. . . . L'influence réelle dont jouait la domesticité royale est dévolue, dès lors, à des agents d'ordre inférieur, qui, devant tout au roi, n'appartiennent qu'à lui. . . . De simples chevaliers, des chapelains, des moines, des légistes d'origine bourgeoise, constituent, dès le milieu du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, le conseil permanent du souverain, rouage essentiel, organe docile d'une autorité naturellement portée à l'absolutisme. Le même révolution se produit dans l'ordre judiciaire (*ibid.*, ii, 305 f.).

To the rise of the new professional class Thibaud V of Blois may have been more complaisant than some other important nobles, if we argue from his long term as seneschal. But he could not be expected to be in entirely smooth accord with those who would to some degree supplant him and his kind in importance.

The context of Thibaud's career in office provides some reason for thinking that *Partonopeus de Blois*, whose initial impulse was perhaps specific and youthful, may have been preserved and finished because it answered to feelings inevitably accompanying a social change. Suger was not, to be sure, a whole social movement; without the general shift of authority then in process he need not have been invidious to the feudal lords and their adherents. Moreover, he died in 1151, long before the change was accomplished. Therefore his sole existence did not certainly call forth attack from the author of the romance. Yet surely in his own time and for at least a generation after his death no French discussion of the low-born man in authority can have ignored Suger. Seen with detachment, he might have appeared as too good a minister to be merely the enemy of one group in the kingdom—as able opportunist rather than greedy adventurer. But the author of *Partonopeus*, whatever his allusion, was impassioned, not detached.

<sup>10</sup> The conflict between royal choice and feudal privilege is indicated in the process of law as early as 1112 against a Henry of Lorraine: he is accused of being a serf but vindicated by a solemn statement of Louis VI and defended as a proper counselor of the king. See Luchaire, *op. cit.*, ii, 321.

This consideration of the possible reference of *Partonopeus de Blois* has yielded neither the identity of the author nor a precise date for the romance. But, as has been indicated, I have found a relationship which seems important between *Partonopeus* and *Eracles* by Gautier d'Arras.<sup>11</sup> In *Eracles* appears, not a protest against the *vilain* in authority but its opposite: a counter-indignation which may have been the other side of an actual controversy.

Gautier d'Arras, as noted above, pours out praise upon Thibaud of Blois (Thibaud V) at the beginning of *Eracles*. The preëminent virtue of this prince, he says, is his love for rhymes and laughter to accompany his good deeds. From Ireland to Rome there is no other count so valiant, wise, generous, or courtly. Others may be sour when they give largesse, but he gives merrily and graciously. Everybody loves and values him except one being—"Envie." But at the end of the romance (approximately 6500 lines) Gautier seems to speak from a mixture of feelings and motives: "Count Thibaud, in whom nothing is lacking, caused me to begin this work, he and the Countess Marie, daughter of Louis. He who has Hainaut in his charge has prompted me often to carry the task through; and I know him to be so wise and noble that I love him more than any prince in the world. If I fail him, God confound me!" Both extant manuscripts of the work have this passage which I have compressed in the foregoing lines, but MS B has an added portion, thirty-two lines, in which these sentences are included:

En diz et sept ans et demi  
ne treuve on pas un bon ami. (6491-2)

Molt-par monta en haut degré.  
et ricement bien m'empointai  
le jor, que premiers l'acointai.  
eslëu l'ai en mon aumaire;  
et se nus hom por nul affaire  
en desfaisoit la serrëure,  
jà-mais ne trovai trovëure,  
ne ne me querrai mais en home. (6496-6503)

Quens Bauduin a vos l'otroi  
ains-que passent quins an u troi,  
metrai aillors 'espoir m'entente.  
Sire, je sui de bone atente;

<sup>11</sup> H. F. Massmann (ed. 1, Quedlinburg und Leipzig, 1842). (Otte's German version of the poem is included with the French original and gives its title, *Eracius*, to the volume.) E. Löseth (ed. 2, Paris, 1890).

mais gardes, que n'i-ait engain :  
 se me promesse, n'est au vain,  
 dont gardes, que le soit entens.  
 vous saves asses, que je pens.  
 dix me doinst gré de mon signor  
 de ce et d'el à-diès grignor. (6507-6516)

Between the beginning and ending of this romance, then, something apparently happened to change the poet's hopes of patronage.

Gautier's other, and later, extant romance, *Ille et Galeron* (ed. W. Foerster, Halle, 1891), begins with 131 lines of eulogizing dedication to "the best Empress that ever was," Beatrix, wife of Frederick I. She is loved by all except "Envie." This romance ends simply, almost curtly, without further address to patronage. But within that flattering dedication to Beatrix, Gautier takes a fling at his own detractors and adds a coda to the repeated assertions of his fixed idea in *Eracles*—the idea that only Envy could object to preferment by a sovereign of a worthy humble man.

Et dient pluisor par envie  
 Que ciex Gautiers n'esgarde mie  
 Le poïir que les autres (f)ont,  
 Qui petis est, et petit font.  
 Si fas ; mes sele ert castelaine,  
 Si seroit envers li vilaine  
 Le plus cortoise et le plus sage,  
 Que j'onques vi en mon eage.  
 (*Ille et Galeron*, 95-102.)

Before examining further Gautier's direct expressions of the idea in question, I should like to summarize his story of *Eracles*, which is their vehicle.

Eracles was born by supernatural dispensation to a Roman senator and his wife. After his father's death, the boy's mother offered him for sale as a slave, in exchange for money with which to do good works in memory of her husband. The boy was bought for the Emperor, and became the supreme adviser at court because he could vindicate by ordeal his supernatural power of judging gems, horses, and women. When he was entrusted by the Emperor with the choosing of an Empress, he selected a poor orphan girl to be thus exalted. Later, because of his crusading valor and piety, he was chosen Emperor of Constantinople. He conquered the heathen king Cosroe and his son, then restored the holy cross and throne to Jerusalem. When he was riding into Jerusalem in gorgeous triumph, the walls closed miraculously before him to rebuke his pride. He dismounted,



changed his fine raiment for a hair shirt, and, remembering the humility owing to God for His having raised him up from poverty, won forgiveness and permission to enter the city.

Into this narrative is inserted that of Athanaïs, chosen by Eracles as the best wife in the world for the Emperor. Under the strain of being imprisoned by her husband, as precaution while he was away at war, she forgot the special loyalty she owed him for having raised her from poverty; she allowed herself to fall in love with Parides. When the Emperor returned, he followed Eracles' advice and divorced his wife that she and Parides might marry.

The story of Athanaïs joins imperfectly to that of Eracles' powers of divination: as it turned out, he divined wrongly about the Empress! But Gautier does not admit that; he seems concerned to establish her as an actual human being under great stress. Massmann, in his copious treatment of matter possibly accessory to the poem, surmised that the narrative about Athanaïs was an effort to justify Eleanor, the mother of "the countess Marie" and of Count Thibaud's wife.<sup>12</sup> This theory pays too little attention, I think, to Eleanor's high station in contrast to Athanaïs' real position in the story—that of a second person who rose from poverty to eminence by imperial favor. Unlike the hero, she forsook the grateful humility owing to her benefactor, but she yielded only to the assault of that supreme force, Love. Even though she did so, and though Eracles had to be admonished against pride by the closing of the walls, yet both characters were paragons. They had to be, to sustain the weight of preferment. Both careers in the romance seem to me to point this moral: he who mounts high in the world by royal favor must remember to be humble! But the moral is only the amulet round the neck of the real thesis: away with the envious ones, the wretches who cannot bear to see humble worth exalted! This is what Gautier never tires of saying in *Eracles*.

Or sont dolant et mal-balli  
li envious et li falli.  
envie lor fait grant contraire  
et grant angouse lor fait traire,  
k'envie est tous-jours en porcas  
des siens hounir et prendre as las.  
envious languist d'autrui aise  
et si est molt à grant mésaise  
qant voit ke on preud'omme alieve  
riens nulle el mont tant ne li grieve.  
molt porte mauvais hon gries somme,  
cant voit venir à cort preud'omme,

<sup>12</sup> In his 1842 edition, already cited. Concerning Eleanor see pp. 436-444. Pp. 137-220 and 357-627 discuss and illustrate the background for the poem.



qil voit bien k'en liu de cestui  
 n'ara-on jà cure de lui;  
 et por çou dient cil glouton  
 k'Éracles ne vaut un bouton. (1055-1070)

Car piec'a est, ke genglëour  
 n'est d'ui ne d'ier, ke il coumencent.  
 cil de la court le varlet tencent,  
 por 'le varlet faire dehé.  
 or est-il molt en bas degré.  
 mès dieus le metra el plus haut;  
 car c'est li sires, ki ne faut. (1500-1506)

Or est-il liés et cil sont mourne,  
 qil l'ont sourdit par vilounie:  
 or counoist-hon lor filounie.  
 pour çou sont fol (çou truis lisant)  
 li mal-parlier, li mal-disant;  
 car s'il mèsdient de noului  
 et on voit puis le bien en lui,  
 por mentëours tenir se font. (1754-1761)

The Emperor says to his young protégé

Éracles, dieus te gart ta vie;  
 jà ne reman'ra por envie,  
 q' del tout ne me tiegne à toi.  
 de mes consaus conselle moi:  
 mès conselliers veul ke tu soies.  
 ne ferai riens, ke tu ne voies,  
 et jà ne n'iert si à talent,  
 c'on ne me truist de'l faire l'ent,  
 preuc-k'il te soit encontre quer. (1829-1837)

Then, because the Emperor favors the young man, all the envious  
 ones must turn their coats.

Toute la cours, ki molt est anple,  
 prennent à l'enpereur exenple  
 de lui ounerer et siervir  
 par tout, u on le voit venir.  
 car puis-ke sire a cièr son cien,  
 tout li autre li veulent bien;  
 tant ke li sire a cièr celui,  
 tout le cièrisent apriès lui;  
 . . . . .  
 en lui se croit, en lui se met;  
 de lui à lever s'entremet,  
 q'faire vont, k'agré li viegne,  
 face can-k'al varlet couviagne.  
 (1887-1894, 1899-1902)

In at least a dozen more such passages—long ones, some of them—Gautier grumbles at the envious ones or gloats over them. The pitch of his feeling is evidently high. Like the author of *Partonopeus de Blois*, he finds ways besides his direct utterances of working the idea into the narrative. His hero is, of course, a slave boy who, through the favor of his sovereign, became Emperor of Constantinople and who waged victoriously a holy war in which previous Christian leaders had been defeated. (Only, the privilege of fiction makes him of noble birth disguised by circumstance rather than low-born.) The important woman in the story is a poor orphan who was exalted to be Empress of Rome.

It is time to mark the likenesses and differences between *Partonopeus* and *Eracles* besides their taking opposite sides on one question.

(1) Both tell of a humble man raised to an important and powerful capacity. Neither Marés nor Eracles becomes a mere clerkly dependent, one of a large class, but each takes precedence over all other advisers to the crown. This may be a natural effort of the story-teller to heighten dramatic interest.

(2) The two works contain each an essential *chanson de geste*. In *Partonopeus* this has a more political cast, and is interpolated into the love story. In *Eracles* it is a virtually separate added tale, and its emphasis is on the defense of the true church. The romance in *Partonopeus* is more courtly than anything in *Eracles*. The first has a tournament, of the pattern which became elegantly conventional; *Eracles* has a horse race! Partonopeus became Emperor by winning the tournament; Eracles' sovereignty was achieved by his crusading piety and maintained by his humility before God—and presumably the Church. The latter hero, that is to say, accepts the idea of royal authority as consolidated with ecclesiastical.

It is barely possible that Alvisius, Archbishop of Arras, had something to do with the cast of Gautier d'Arras' sympathies and beliefs. He led the forces from Arras in the second crusade, and he died on that expedition. Now Louis VII wrote home to Suger of Alvisius' death: . . . "Venerabilis frater vester . . . migravit ad Dominum." Alvisius has sometimes been called Suger's brother on the strength of this and his own use of the word *frater*. (*Eraclius*, ed. Massmann, p. 452 f.) But the meaning may have been "brother in the church." Nevertheless there was a friendly connection between the two—more than can be assumed of all blood brothers in that time, especially of those set in high place. At any rate it is not impossible that Alvisius helped to predetermine Gautier's prime sympathy for king and church rather than feudal lords.

Gautier d'Arras seems less courtly, then; perhaps more individual than the author of *Partonopeus*; perhaps, even, if one dare apply a dangerous adjective, more naïve. It may have been because of these qualities that *Eracles* failed to attract patronage from Thibaud V of Blois, if it did fail. Such an offering as *Partonopeus* was better adapted to draw forth largesse from a powerful noble; and yet we are not certain that in its completed form it actually did so.

(3) Can the two works have been close together in time? I think so, according to several of their characteristics and affiliations.<sup>13</sup>

If the author of *Partonopeus* was related to Marie de France by his choice of materials, so was Gautier. His later romance, *Ille et Galeron*, is based on the same story as Marie's *Eliduc*.

Each romance sets part of its action in Constantinople. Each hero became first the special favorite of his king and later became Emperor. Each fought in single combat against a ruler of Persia. *Eracles* shows a more definite importation of materials, including names, from the East. (The name Heracles itself was not unknown, to be sure, in French use in the twelfth century.) On that account Massmann's supposition seems reasonable: that Gautier actually brought home some of the stuff of this story from the second crusade (*Eraclius*, p. 451). Among the many appendices in his edition, already cited, Massmann printed excerpts from several chronicles telling of Eracles and Cosroe and of Athanaïs. The account of Athanaïs in the *Chronicon Paschale* (*ibid.*, pp. 144-150) is a simple version of the Cinderella story. But if Gautier got it from such a chronicle, as seems likely from his use of names, then besides the larger story-materials some snatches of Greek probably went back to France from the crusade—such a fragment, for example, as the meaning of *παρθένος*, mentioned above in connection with *Partonopeus*. The word appears prominently in the *Chronicon Paschale*. The imperial search for a spouse, like the search which secured *Partonopeus* for the Empress Melior, is directed in the *Chronicon* to the finding of Athanaïs. It is said also of the latter maiden that she had been trained by her father Heraclitus: "*παρθένος πεφύλακται ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτῆς πατρὸς καὶ . . . διὰ λόγων πολλῶν ἦκται φιλοσοφίας.*" An elaborate training had been provided likewise for Melior by her father: "*les sept ars, mecine, divinite, la vies loi et la novele, espiremens, nigromance et encantemens.*"

<sup>13</sup> In the present article I have omitted review of such linguistic study as has been devoted to the two romances in question. I believe that that approach cannot set as narrow limits for the time or place of either work as can be marked by literary and historical evidence—especially since the influence of the literary prestige of certain dialects on mediaeval writers, now more fully recognized, weakens the argument from language characteristics for such a purpose as I have followed here.

These materials are so used in *Partonopeus de Blois* as to suggest that they had not come to the author so directly as to Gautier. Nevertheless their presence in company with the Cupid and Psyche motif—which itself seems so far from the version of Apuleius—may mean that the author was eager to use them because they belonged to a fresh mode. Elsewhere I have discussed his similar way of using some of the materials which appear in *Yvain* and *Cligés*, and have said how close his romance seems to the models offered by the *Thèbes* and the *Eneas*.<sup>14</sup> It is not necessary to believe that he borrowed directly from either Chrétien de Troyes or Gautier d'Arras. He does seem their contemporary in choice of matter. Massmann's date for *Eracles*, 1153, has been challenged by Foerster, who set it ca. 1164.<sup>15</sup> But the first part of the romance may well have found an audience before the work was extended and the reference added to "Marie fille Loei." If that earlier portion of *Eracles* and the first part of *Partonopeus*, treating the common theme of the *vilain* in authority, are contemporary, and if *Partonopeus* does allude to the young manhood of Henry I of Champagne, then 1153 is closer than 1164 to the time of the two beginnings. How the patronage of our two romancers by the house of Blois may have been affected by the marriage of Henry of Anjou to Eleanor, his accession to the English throne in 1154, and the corollary appointment in the same year of Thibaud V of Blois as seneschal of France—that is matter for speculation.

Certainly it is not to be maintained that the figure of Eracles was meant to be a portrait of Suger. Perhaps the character of Partonopeus himself was not an allusion to Henry of Champagne or to his brother Thibaud V of Blois, or a composite tribute to the two. Yet it is easier to believe that the character *was* first fashioned as one of these things. At any rate, *Partonopeus de Blois* and *Eracles*, spirited commentaries, belong to a time when a new class was rising; the two romancers spoke ardently of a public issue. Surely there can be no doubt that some romances of the twelfth century do contain political allusions!

#### Western Reserve University

<sup>14</sup> *Narrative Art in Medieval Romances* (Western Reserve University Press, 1939), pp. 58-62 et passim.

<sup>15</sup> The dating of *Eracles* is supposedly dependent on the date of the marriage of Henry I of Champagne and Marie, which is not certainly known. Foerster (*Ille et Galeron*, p. xiv, n. 21) accepted the date of this marriage as 1164 from H. D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire des ducs et des comtes de Champagne* (Paris, 1861), iii, 82. According to this theory Henry, having been betrothed to Marie by 1148, married no one else but continued to be affianced to her until he was thirty-seven years old—an unusual course for an important noble in the twelfth century. *L'Art de vérifier les dates*, xvi, 370, says that Henry and Marie were affianced in 1153 and married "ensuite."

## BOILEAU'S PROPAGANDA FOR MOLIERE AND HIS TROUPE

By H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

Boileau's first verses were published in 1663. By 1668, when his eighth and ninth satires appeared, he had lifted himself from obscurity to fame. While so doing he attacked de Pure, Boursault, and Quinault, but not Boyer or de Visé; he made special mention of Corneille's *Attila*, but not of his *Sertorius*; he praised *Alexandre*, but not *Andromaque*. Why he made these selections may be understood if it is admitted that he attached his budding fortunes to those of Molière and his troupe.

One of the first works he published was his *Stances à M. de Molière sur la comédie de l'Ecole des femmes*, in which he took the popular side of a literary quarrel and, in reply to those who had accused Molière's play of triviality and of hostility to religion, ranked the dramatist with Terence and declared that his "burlesque parole" was a "docte sermon." "Ces stances," wrote Revillout,<sup>1</sup> "contribuent plus à sa gloire, qu'elles n'ont contribué jadis à celle de Molière." In *Satire II* Boileau augmented his praise of Molière and begged him to teach him the art of riming, attributing to him, according to Le Verrier, "une facilité de tourner un vers et de rimer, que son ami n'avoit pas, mais il est question de le louer et de luy faire plaisir."<sup>2</sup> Subsequently Boileau referred pleasantly to *Tartuffe*<sup>3</sup> when it was under a cloud and he mentioned a *Festin de Pierre*, probably Molière's.<sup>4</sup> To no other dramatist did he accord such approbation in his first nine satires.

Boileau mentioned in them a number of men who wrote plays, but named Théophile, Racan, and Colletet as poets rather than as dramatists, "bienheureux" Scudéry as the author of novels he had helped his sister compose, La Serre as a voluminous writer in many genres. The plays that these men had brought out had all ceased to be acted long before Boileau wrote. The dramatists he praised or condemned as such in his *Satires*, all authors of recent plays, were—besides Molière—Boursault, Quinault, Corneille, and Racine. In his *Héros de roman*, written about 1665, he ridiculed Quinault's *Astrate*

<sup>1</sup> "La Légende de Boileau," *RLR*, IV (1890), 465.

<sup>2</sup> Lachèvre, *Les Satires de Boileau commentées par lui-même* (Le Vésinet, 1906), p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> *Discours au Roy*, v. 102; *Sat. III*, v. 25.

<sup>4</sup> *Sat. III*, v. 130.

and de Pure's *Ostorius*. He was hostile to Boursault, Quinault, and de Pure, favorable to Corneille and Racine. Is this evidence, as is often supposed, of his critical instinct, or may it be explained otherwise?

As he had championed *L'Ecole des femmes*, it might be expected that he would attack the dramatists who had criticized it, de Visé, Boursault, and the younger Montfleury. The one he selected, Boursault, was the only one of the three that Molière had named in *L'Impromptu du Versailles*. Boileau may well in this instance have been merely following Molière's guidance. Quinault deserved the accusation of misplaced tenderness, but did he more so than Gilbert or Boyer? These last, however, had written plays for Molière's troupe, as Quinault had not done. Instead he had competed with plays by Boyer and de Visé that Molière had produced, for his *Agrippa* had been given at the same time as Boyer's *Oropaste*, which had a similar theme, and his *Mère coquette* at the same time with de Visé's, from which Quinault borrowed both subject and title. *Astrate*, moreover, played at the Hôtel de Bourgogne late in 1664 or early in 1665, may have offered serious competition to Molière's troupe while *Tartuffe* was being kept off the stage and *Le Misanthrope* was not yet ready for production. De Pure had also committed the offense of giving his *Ostorius* to the actors of the Hôtel.

To praise Corneille by writing "Parmi les Pelletiers on conte des Corneilles"<sup>6</sup> was merely ratifying the judgment of the times. This is also true of the reference to Corneille in *Satire III*<sup>6</sup> and the mention of the *Cid* in *Satire IX*.<sup>7</sup> The only other play by Corneille named in the nine satires is *Attila*, the first new production by the old dramatist that Molière had introduced to the public. The tragedies that Corneille had given to the Hôtel de Bourgogne while Boileau was writing were not mentioned in these satires, but, as soon as he sold a play to Molière, Boileau was quick to praise it by making a "clerc" condemn it.<sup>8</sup> To single out *Attila* in this connection was to render service to Molière's troupe.

<sup>6</sup> *Discours au Roy*, v. 54.

<sup>6</sup> V. 183.

<sup>7</sup> V. 232. *Le Cid*, played originally at the Marais, had for many years been available for performance at any theater.

<sup>8</sup> That he did praise it (*Sat. IX*, vv. 177-80) seems to me obvious, though Voltaire (Moland ed., XXXII, 267) and Albert Cahen (*Boileau-Despréaux, Satires* [Paris, Droz, 1932], p. 130) did not think so, for the taste of the "clerc" whose ear was not charmed by "le Roi des Huns" must have seemed as absurd to Boileau as that of the "sot de qualité" who, a few lines before, had preferred "le clinquant du Tasse à tout l'or de Virgile."

Boileau's well-known verses on *Agésilas* and *Attila* might be cited here, if there were any evidence that they were composed during this period. If they were, their existence supports my contention, for *Agésilas*, played at the Hôtel, is obviously condemned, while *Attila*, acted by Molière's troupe, is probably praised (cf. René Talamon, *MLN*, XLVIII, 283-91).

The same thing may be said of *Alexandre*, condemned by a tasteless countryman because the hero is only a "glorieux qui ne dit rien de tendre."<sup>9</sup> Just what Boileau meant has been a matter of some dispute. That Racine's hero is quite "tendre" is obvious to anyone who reads the play and must have been to Boileau.<sup>10</sup> The ordinary explanation is that Boileau's friendship for Racine induced him to imply that *Alexandre* lacked the tenderness the countryman desired. M. Demeure, however, has shown that there is no reliable evidence that the friendship of Boileau and Racine had begun by 1666.<sup>11</sup> He even believed that Boileau was then Racine's enemy and meant the reference to *Alexandre* to be hostile. He argued that Boileau, whose taste was the opposite of his countryman's, considered Racine's hero a "tendre qui ne dit rien de glorieux." But, if this is true, why did the countryman think that Quinault's heroes "parlent bien autrement"? Why did Boileau write in such a way that a contemporary, Pradon, thought it necessary to reply to him by indicating that Racine's hero was more "tendre" than any hero portrayed by Quinault?<sup>12</sup> It seems to me that Pradon's interpretation is the correct one and that the line should be considered a compliment to the play. The reason, however, for Boileau's complimenting *Alexandre* cannot be his friendship for Racine, if no friendship existed. Note, too, that Racine is not mentioned by name and that no allusion is made to *Andromaque* in the eighth or in the ninth satire.<sup>13</sup> It seems rather that Boileau praised *Alexandre* because it was the last new tragedy produced by Molière,<sup>14</sup> while he withheld praise of *Andromaque* because it was given at the Hôtel de Bourgogne.

<sup>9</sup> *Satire III*, v. 186.

<sup>10</sup> Conquering Alexander says to Cléofile (v. 895):

Mais, hélas! que vos yeux, ces aimables tyrans. . .

There is nothing so "tendre" in Quinault's *Astrate*.

<sup>11</sup> *Mercur de France*, CCV (1928), 34-61. He quotes a document sworn to by Boileau in 1696 to the effect that he had known Racine as a man of honor for twenty-five years. Cahen (*op. cit.*, p. vi) replied that Boileau was merely using a "chiffre rond," but he did not answer Demeure's argument that, though thirty would have been quite as round, Boileau failed to employ it.

<sup>12</sup> *Triomphe de Pradon* (Lyons, 1684), p. 84, cited by Mesnard, *Œuvres de J. Racine*, I (1865), 509.

<sup>13</sup> As these were published in 1668, a reference to *Andromaque*, successfully acted in 1667, could easily have been introduced.

<sup>14</sup> Le Verrier states that *Satire III* was begun in 1664. *Alexandre* was first acted on Dec. 4, 1665. The reference to it was probably introduced after this date, but before Boileau learned that Racine had allowed the actors of the Hôtel to play his tragedy and that a break with Molière had followed.

In support of his view that Boileau was at this time hostile to Racine, Demeure cites a version of the *Héros de roman* that makes a satirical reference to *Alexandre* with lines quoted from the play. This version first appeared in a Dutch edition of the works of Saint-Evremond. Charles de Sévigné is



In short, the only recent plays of which Boileau expressed approval—*L'Ecole des femmes*, *Alexandre*, *Attila*—were first given by Molière's troupe, while the only dramatists he condemned—de Pure, Quinault, Boursault—were patrons of the rival company. Whenever he wished to allude to the theater in the sixties, Molière's interests, to which he had attached his own, came to his mind. It was only after Molière's death and when his own fame had become secure that he praised tragedies written for the Hôtel de Bourgogne, Racine's *Iphigénie* and *Phèdre*.<sup>15</sup> It was only after Molière was dead that Boileau reproached him for Scapin's sack, as Desmaretz observed:<sup>16</sup>

. . . maintenant quand je dors,  
Du titre de bouffon tu noircis mon génie;  
Autrefois à genoux, forcé de m'estimer,  
Tu t'adressais à moi pour apprendre à rimer.

*The Johns Hopkins University*

---

supposed to have supplied the editor with the manuscript. There is, however, no such allusion in the version that Boileau published. If the latter was not responsible for the passage devoted to *Alexandre*, it may be considered a reply to the compliment of *Satire III*. If Boileau did compose the passage, it may be because, after writing the *Satire*, he had learned that Racine had allowed the rival troupe to act his play and had broken with Molière.

<sup>15</sup> *Épître VII*. The uncomplimentary references to Pradon in the definitive text of the *Satires* (VII, 45; IX, 97, 289), inspired by Boileau's ultimate friendship for Racine, were not introduced until 1694.

<sup>16</sup> *La deffense du poème heroïque* (1674), quoted by Revillout, *op. cit.*, p. 471.



## TIRSO'S *PRIVAR CONTRA SU GUSTO*: A DEFENSE OF THE DUKE OF OSUNA

By WILLIAM E. WILSON

The possibility of a relationship between Tirso de Molina and the ducal house of Osuna has been suggested on more than one occasion. Doña Blanca de los Ríos de Lampérez, for instance, has attempted to prove that Tirso (Gabriel Téllez) was the illegitimate son of the second Duke of Osuna, Don Juan Téllez Girón, citing as evidence a baptismal certificate with blotted marginal notes discovered by her in Madrid.<sup>1</sup> But some doubt as to the validity of her conclusions has been expressed by at least one scholar.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Robert Avrett also calls attention to possible references to the house of Osuna made by Tirso in two of his plays, *El castigo del penséque* and *Quien calla, otorga*.<sup>3</sup>

Doña Blanca reads into many statements and situations in Tirso's plays an ardent defense of both second-born and natural sons.<sup>4</sup> She is also convinced that the dramatist displayed a life-long and unquenchable hatred of the Girones.<sup>5</sup> In view of these assertions it is surprising to find that one of Tirso's plays, *Privar contra su gusto*, seems to have been written as a vindication of Don Pedro Girón, *el Grande*, the third Duke of Osuna, when the nobleman was recalled to Madrid in 1620 from his viceregency in Naples to face charges of serious derelictions.

Pedro Girón (1574-1624) was undoubtedly one of the greatest Spaniards of his day. After distinguishing himself in several campaigns in Flanders he was appointed Viceroy of Sicily in 1610. This was followed by his appointment as Viceroy of Naples in 1615. His accomplishments in these difficult posts were outstanding, especially when one considers the determined opposition which confronted him. This opposition finally became so powerful that he was ignominiously removed and faced with charges which ranged from irregularities in finances to being in league with the Turks.<sup>6</sup> Osuna ably defended himself and would probably have been returned to his post

<sup>1</sup> *El enigma biográfico de Tirso de Molina* (Madrid, 1928).

<sup>2</sup> Jenaro Artiles Rodríguez, "La partida bautismal de 'Tirso de Molina,'" *Revista de Biblioteca, Archivo y Museo*, V, No. 20 (October, 1928), 403-411.

<sup>3</sup> *Romanic Review*, XXX, 125-132.

<sup>4</sup> Doña Blanca, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

<sup>6</sup> Francisco Fernández de Béthencourt, *Historia genealógica y heráldica de la monarquía española, casa real y grandes de España*, II (Madrid, 1900), p. 565.

in Naples but for the sudden death of Philip III on March 31, 1621. Seven days later Osuna was arrested on the orders of Olivares and spent the rest of his life in prison.

It is significant that the scene of *Privar contra su gusto* is Naples and its environs, where Osuna served Philip III loyally and faithfully for five years. The leading character of the play is a Spanish nobleman, Don Juan de Cardona, who is living in retirement with his sister Clavela. Don Juan and a friend, Don Luis de Moncada, save the life of King Fadrique of Naples when the latter is attacked by six masked supporters of the Count of Anjou. The King, grateful to Don Juan, tries to reward him by making him *privado* of Naples. Don Juan, whose father had occupied the same position under Fadrique's father, mindful of royal ingratitude and the precarious situation of royal favorites, has no inclination to accept such a high office, and is bold enough to decline the offer. The King persists, however, and finally prevails upon the nobleman to accept.

Having accepted the position, Don Juan is conscientious and zealous in the performance of his duties. But circumstances over which he has no control work against him, and he finds himself unjustly reviled and accused. The King's sister, Isabela, becomes openly inimical toward him, he loses the friendship of Don Luis, his own sister upbraids him, and the King, misguided by the train of events, loses confidence in him. Don Juan remains loyal to Fadrique, however, and prevents French plotters from blowing up the royal palace. Just when he has decided to renounce his position and disappear, the situation is cleared up, and Don Juan, once more in the good graces of Fadrique, expresses his willingness to continue as the latter's *privado*.

The frequent allusion to historical events in *Privar contra su gusto* and the close parallel between the career of the protagonist, Don Juan de Cardona, and that of the Duke of Osuna are so patent that there can be little if any doubt as to Tirso's plan to depict contemporary happenings and to defend the great Duke under the thinly disguised cloak of a *comedia palaciega* ostensibly centering around the historical characters of King Fadrique and the Cardonas. The choice of Naples as the scene has already been mentioned. It is also significant that the political machinations of the supporters of the Count of Anjou in the play recall the intrigues of the French in Naples during Osuna's period as Viceroy.

There is likewise a parallel situation of ancestry. Don Juan de Cardona makes the following statement regarding his sister:

Sangre tiene catalana  
Y de Aragón, limpia y real  
(Que en Europa se respeta),  
Ya que no por línea reta,  
A lo menos trasversal.<sup>7</sup>

This is practically what the Duke of Osuna could claim for his own ancestry. As a scion of the Acuña family he belonged to what Fernández de Béthencourt describes as "una de las primeras entre las grandes razas españolas, digna de figurar entre las mayores de Alemania, Francia, Italia, Inglaterra y Flandes."<sup>8</sup> Moreover, on the side of his mother, the Duchess Doña Ana-María de Velasco, he could claim descent from Doña Ana de Aragón, the granddaughter of Ferdinand of Aragon.<sup>9</sup>

Although Don Juan's position in Naples is ostensibly that of *privado*, it is evident that Fadrique commissions him with powers which go far beyond those of a mere favorite, powers which only a Viceroy would enjoy:

Rey seréis en ejercicio  
Y yo solo en nombre rey.  
Depachad vos mis consultas,  
Presidid en mis consejos,  
Premiad capitanes viejos,  
Dad cargos, provêd resultas,  
Gobernad, subid, creced;  
Que en todo sois el mejor  
De Nápoles. (I, viii.)

Here and in Fadrique's references to Don Juan as

... el que ha de ser  
Desde hoy mi gran canceller  
Y en fin, él gobernador  
Deste reino (I, ix)

we have the counterpart of Osuna's status as Viceroy of Naples.

Don Juan assumes these powers with misgivings, and soon regrets the day that he accepted them. Surrounded with ambition and envy, and having gained a powerful antagonist through unwittingly offending Isabela, Fadrique's sister, he asks the King to permit him to retire, a request which the King angrily refuses (I, xii). Osuna

<sup>7</sup> *Privar contra su gusto*, B. A. E., V., act III, scene VIII.

Don Juan de Cardona's claim of royal descent calls to mind similar statements made by Rodrigo Girón in *El castigo del pensèque*, II, xi, and *Quien calla, otorga*, II, iii.

<sup>8</sup> Fernández de Béthencourt, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 555.

addressed a similar request to Philip III in 1617, a request which was likewise not granted.<sup>10</sup>

Later in the play Don Juan overhears two supporters of the Count of Anjou plotting to set fire to the palace where they have hidden six barrels of gunpowder, hoping to destroy the palace and all its inhabitants, thus making it possible to deliver Naples to their French master (II, xxii-xxiii). Don Juan, concealing his identity, arrests the two conspirators and then informs Fadrique of the plot (II, xxv).

This episode has a historical basis—the famous *Conjuración de Venecia* or Conspiracy of Bedmar—which created a sensation in Europe and which has never been explained satisfactorily. In this conspiracy two Frenchmen, followers of Jacques Pierres, a man ostensibly in Osuna's service but in reality a traitor, were arrested and executed for attempting to set fire to the arsenal and sack the treasury.<sup>11</sup> There is good reason to believe that the King of France was involved in this plot, and the presumption in Venice at the time, especially among the common people, was that the conspirators had acted on the orders of the Duke of Osuna, whom they considered to be the real instigator.<sup>12</sup>

Tirso takes cognizance of these accusations when he has Clavella say of Don Juan de Cardona:

... si a las lenguas  
Vulgares se ha de dar fe,  
Que tal vez son verdaderas,  
Hay quien dice, que al de Anjou  
Se ha ido, y que presto intenta  
Poner cerco a vuestra corte. (III, xvi.)

Belief in Osuna's guilt persisted, and one of the charges which he faced in 1620 was that of being involved in this conspiracy. Tirso's vindication of him in the play is in agreement with the judgment of history.<sup>13</sup>

At his trial in Madrid the Duke was also accused of financial irregularities and extravagance. He ably defended himself on this score, showing that in spite of the great expense involved in such enterprises as building up the fleet and in spite of the mismanagement of a Viceroy who preceded him, he had actually increased the income of the Crown during his viceregency in Naples.<sup>14</sup> It has also

<sup>10</sup> Fernández de Béthencourt, *op. cit.*, p. 562.

<sup>11</sup> Quevedo, *Obras*, B. A. E., XLVIII, 649a.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 644a ff.

<sup>13</sup> Pedro Aguado Bleye, *Manual de historia de España*, quinta edición, II (Bilbao, 1929), p. 183.

<sup>14</sup> Fernández de Béthencourt, *op. cit.*, p. 564.

been established that on numerous occasions Osuna had made great contributions from his own funds to further the interests of his nation.<sup>15</sup>

This situation is likewise reflected in the play. Don Juan de Cardona, unwilling to continue longer as *privado*, and yet loyal to his King, summons Marco Antonio, one of the latter's creditors. From their conversation we learn that Don Juan, through personal contributions, has reduced King Fadrique's debts considerably. In order to liquidate the balance he pledges as much of his property as may be necessary, with the request that this act be kept secret even from the King (III, ix).

In *Privar contra su gusto* Tirso has taken a few liberties with history, such as having the *privado* accompanied by his sister in Naples, when in fact Osuna's sisters died in childhood.<sup>16</sup> He errs, moreover, when he states that Fadrique was the son of King Alfonso of Naples and came to the throne after the death of his brother Fernando (I, viii). The fact is that Fadrique became King of Naples in 1496 after the death of his nephew Fernando II. But it is doubtful whether the dramatist took the weakling King Fadrique of history as his model for the King in the play. Certain parallels can be suggested which indicate that the model was in reality Philip III. Philip's fondness for hunting is well known. Fadrique appears as a hunter in the very first scene of the play, and was evidently much inclined to follow that pastime, judging from his sister's words:

¡Mal haya la caza, amen,  
A que sois tan inclinado! (I, ix.)

Moreover, when Fadrique tries to persuade Don Juan to become his *privado* he states that a similar relationship had existed between their respective fathers:

Hijo seréis, según eso,  
De Don Pedro, gran privado  
Del Rey, mi padre. (I, viii.)

Fadrique develops this theme, giving details of a very close and intimate bond between Don Pedro and the royal family. There was no such relationship between Philip II and Osuna's father, Juan Téllez-Girón, a nonentity known chiefly for his piety.<sup>17</sup> But the statements are certainly applicable to the Duke's grandfather, Don Pedro Girón, to whom Philip III, paraphrasing Fadrique, might well have referred as "Don Pedro, gran privado del Rey, mi padre." For Don Pedro was, as Tirso suggests, a very intimate friend of Philip II, and

<sup>15</sup> Fernández de Béthencourt, *op. cit.*, pp. 557, 562, *et passim*.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 556.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 555.

had received many high honors from the King, one of which was appointment as Viceroy of Naples in 1581.<sup>18</sup> There is, however, no proof of Tirso's statement that Don Pedro finally fell from the King's grace (I, viii).

An additional detail strengthens the belief that Fadrique is in reality Philip III. Don Juan's reference to the former as

De los dos orbes Monarca,  
Que rindiéndos sus coronas,  
Sus provincias os aplaudan (II, xxv)

would be more applicable to the King of Spain than to the King of Naples.

From the foregoing it is evident that in *Privar contra su gusto* we have numerous situations which reflect incidents in Osuna's career. These points of similarity—the choice of Naples as the scene of the play, French intrigue there, the ancestry of Don Juan de Cardona, his appointment to rule the city, references to his ancestor Don Pedro who had served in a similar capacity, the incidents of the conspiracy, the sacrifice of personal fortune for the King and the loss of royal favor—are too striking to be dismissed as mere coincidences. It is significant too that both Don Juan and Osuna have the common personal traits of impetuosity, bravery, diligence and zeal-ousness in the performance of their duties.<sup>19</sup>

The conclusion is that in this vigorous defense of the Duke, Tirso is addressing a veiled admonition to Philip III against the validity of the circumstantial evidence which seems to indicate the guilt of his once-trusted Viceroy. The play was quite likely written during the trial, which took place after October 10, 1620, when Osuna returned in disgrace to Madrid. The indications are that Tirso was living in Madrid at this time.<sup>20</sup> When the play ends King Fadrique is still alive. He has, moreover, restored Don Juan to his favor, a boon which Philip had already granted or intended to grant the Viceroy.<sup>21</sup> From this and from the fact that the reader has no inkling of the imprisonment so soon to be the lot of Osuna, it would seem that *Privar contra su gusto* was written before the death of Philip III on March 31, 1621.

*University of Washington*

<sup>18</sup> Fernández de Béthencourt, *op. cit.*, p. 547 ff.

<sup>19</sup> This evidence refutes the statement of Pedro Muñoz Peña (*El teatro del maestro Tirso de Molina* [Valladolid, 1889], pp. 488-489) that *Privar contra su gusto* was inspired by the tragic end of Rodrigo Calderón, a favorite of Philip III. Calderón, born in Antwerp, was half Flemish. His diplomatic activities were centered in the Low Lands, not in Italy. His avarice was proverbial, a fact which makes it unlikely that Tirso would have used him as the prototype of the generous and self-sacrificing Juan de Cardona.

<sup>20</sup> Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, *Comedias de Tirso de Molina*, N. B. A. E., 4, I (Madrid, 1906), p. xxii.

<sup>21</sup> Fernández de Béthencourt, *op. cit.*, p. 565.

## "WHAN HE HIS PAPIR SOGHTE"

(Chaucer's *Cook's Tale*, A 4404)

By REGINALD CALL

In that sketch of a tale told by Chaucer's cook<sup>1</sup> concerning Perkyn Revelour, apprentice victualler, a certain "papiir" is mentioned, and there are differences of opinion as to what the phrase "whan he his papiir soghte" (A 4404) means. Skeat in his note to *paper*, spelling it according to the text he was using, writes, "the allusion is not clear; perhaps he means that he was referring to his account book, and found it unsatisfactory."<sup>2</sup> Tatlock and MacKaye render into Modern English, "when his master looked over his indentures."<sup>3</sup> Professor Manly in his 1928 edition follows Skeat, noting, "examined his accounts."<sup>4</sup> Professor Robinson in his 1933 edition also follows Skeat, but is less sure than Manly, noting "perhaps his account book."<sup>5</sup>

The difficulty lies, I believe, in a misinterpretation of the word *papiir*. It is my belief that the phrase means, "when the apprentice asked for his certificate of completed apprenticeship," and I shall point out below certain material which would seem to justify this interpretation.<sup>6</sup>

The *Oxford English Dictionary* under "paper 2" defines as "paper bearing writing; written documents collectively," and quotes our passage: "1386 Chaucer Cook's T. 40 Vpon a day whan he his papiir soghte." These definitions would suit our interpretation well enough, but it also might suit the "account book" interpretation, though not as well, since account books are seldom referred to as documents. Indeed, there are at least two cases in Chaucer where

<sup>1</sup> *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. F. N. Robinson (Boston, etc.: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1933), p. 73. Following textual references are to this edition, unless otherwise noted.

<sup>2</sup> *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. W. W. Skeat (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894), vol. V, p. 130.

<sup>3</sup> John S. P. Tatlock and Percy MacKaye, *The Complete Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1921), p. 73.

<sup>4</sup> *Canterbury Tales by Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. John Matthews Manly (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1928), p. 563.

<sup>5</sup> Chaucer, *Works*, ed. Robinson, p. 792.

<sup>6</sup> My article was completed and submitted to the editors of the *Modern Language Quarterly* before R. Blenner-Hassett's note on this line appeared in *MLN*, LVII (January, 1942), 34-5. His note, while coming to the same conclusions as my article, gives little definite evidence for these conclusions.



account books are definitely referred to as "bookes"; namely, in the *Shipman's Tale*:

His bookes and his bagges many oon  
He leith biforn hym on his countyn-bord.

(B 1272-3)

How longe tyme wol ye rekene and caste  
Youre sommes, and youre bookes, and youre thynges?

(B 1406-7)

If Chaucer had intended the meaning "account books," he could easily have used the word *bookes* in the *Cook's Tale* and the meter would have been fitted exactly as well.

In the group of gild certificates published in *English Gilds* is the following paragraph from the ordinances of the Gild of Garlekhith, London:

Also, tho that comen hereafter to the bretherhede, as brethren other sustren, he shal swere on the papir, to-fore the wardeins therof, for to kepe wel and trewely alle the pointz of this papir atte here power.<sup>7</sup>

This passage is one of a series of ordinances respecting the activities and obligations of parish gild members, and means that newcomers to the gild shall swear to keep the ordinances, or articles of confederation, of the gild. *Papir* in this case means "document," a list of rules which are to be followed and lived up to by the gild members.

An early use of the word *paper* is recorded in the Chronicles of Edward I, and this entry probably gives the Latin origin of the word as used in the fourteenth century. Perhaps significantly, it is connected with apprentices. I quote from the Letter-Book editor's note:

The keeping of a paper or roll of apprentices and others admitted to the freedom of the City in the Chamber of the Guildhall appears to have been begun in 1275, for in that year it is recorded as follows: *Eodem anno quaedam libertas in Londoniis fuit provisa, ut apprenticiorum nomina abbreviarentur in papirio camerae Gildaulae et eorum nomina qui libertatem dictae civitatis emere voluerunt, in eodem papirio insererentur; et cujus nomen non fuit in dicto papirio libertate civitatis privaretur.* (Chron. Edward I and II Rolls Series, i, 85, 86.)<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> L. Toulmin Smith, ed., *English Gilds*, Early English Text Society, vol. 40 (London, 1870), p. 5 (spelling somewhat normalized). The passage quoted is from the surviving group of Gild Ordinances collected in the reign of Richard II and entitled: "Returns in English Made to the King in Council, by order of Parliament, as to the ordinances, usages, properties, &c of English Gilds, in the 12th year of Richard II, a.d. 1389. From the originals in the Public Record Office."

<sup>8</sup> Reginald R. Sharpe, ed., *Calendar of Letter-Books* (London, printed by order of the Corporation of the City of London, 1899-1912), Letter-Book "D," p. 37, note.

At the early date of the quotation just given, this roll of apprentices and those having the liberty of the City would probably not be long, and could be referred to as a "paper." Since this short roll or register served the documentary purpose of proving London citizenship, we may say that here again *paper* means document or certificate of proof.

The apprentice, then, asked for ("soghte" A 4404) some kind of document. It was not the master "referring to his account book,"<sup>9</sup> or "looking over his indentures,"<sup>10</sup> but the apprentice asking for documentary proof of his apprenticeship.

But did the apprentice need such documentary proof? Was it customary for apprentices to receive certificates from their masters on completion of their apprenticeships? We know it was customary in medieval France:

Their time of apprenticeship over, they remained with the master with whom they lived; or else . . . they went to the market for disengaged hands and offered their services. . . . They were required to give proof that they were free of all other engagements, and to *present certificates*, not only of capability, but of good conduct, *signed by their last master*.<sup>11</sup>

The evidence that London apprentices received such certificates is sketchy, except possibly in the study made by Miss O. Jocelyn Dunlop. She points out that as early as 1300, if not before, it was the custom of the guilds of London to have the new apprentice bound by indentures, which were inspected by the officers of the guild or the town, and the name of the apprentice and the date of binding recorded by the guild or town clerk.<sup>12</sup> His name was also recorded at the Gildhall upon completion of his apprenticeship.<sup>13</sup> By 1400, apprenticeship, as against other ways of entering a craft, was more generally enforced;<sup>14</sup> after 1450 still more so;<sup>15</sup> and under the Statute of Artificers, passed in 1562, "apprenticeship by indenture for seven years was henceforth compulsory for anyone who wished

<sup>9</sup> Chaucer, *Works*, ed. Skeat, vol. V, p. 130.

<sup>10</sup> Tatlock & MacKaye, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

<sup>11</sup> Georges Renard, *Guilds in the Middle Ages*, translated by D. Terry, introduction by G. D. H. Cole (London: Bell, 1919), p. 13 (my italics).

<sup>12</sup> O. Jocelyn Dunlop, "Some Aspects of Early English Apprenticeship," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (London: Offices of the Society, 1911), Third Series, vol. V, p. 195.

<sup>13</sup> R. R. Sharpe, ed., *Calendar of Letter-Books*, Letter-Book "D," p. 37, note. Cf. H. T. Riley, ed., *Memorials of London and London Life in the XIIIth, XIVth and XVth Centuries* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1868), p. 322. (Referred to below as *Memorials*.)

<sup>14</sup> *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 3rd Series, vol. V, p. 195.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 200.

to practise a trade, and 'the order and custom of London' was made binding upon the whole country. . . ."<sup>16</sup> This statute

made void any apprenticeship which was not served after the custom of London, and, according to the London custom, an apprentice must be bound by indenture and the effect of the indentures enrolled, and at the end of his term "due certificate shall be made howe the apprentice hath served his apprenticeship: all of which things together with making the apprentice free, are entred and kepte on recorde by officers thereto appointed."<sup>17</sup>

This statute, however, worked well as law only in London and some of the larger towns. Complaint was made that many of the journeymen and apprentices had "no means of attesting their service; indentures alone prove little, for 'manie are bound that never serve,' while to certify his service by witnesses would be a heavy charge to the apprentice. A certificate based on records would avoid these difficulties,"<sup>18</sup> the complainant says, thus implying that in London and the larger corporate towns such records were kept and certificates given, and he would like to make the London custom prevalent all over England. In 1606, another complaint was made that the apprentice who had truly fulfilled his obligations "cannot travel to get his living frely but many times is troubled by informers because he cannot produce proof of where he hath served."<sup>19</sup>

The Act of 1562 itself, and the complaints to which it gave rise, seem to indicate that the gilds had passed over their traditional functions to the State, thinking, no doubt, that they would now be relieved of the burden of organizing themselves and enforcing their own ordinances, as had been the traditional custom of the gilds. But the gildsmen came to realize that the State could not solve their problems for them, and so they again took things in hand as they had in the past:

Their work and the rules which they now passed closely resemble the work and by-laws of the early guilds. . . . At Bristol, the apprentice of the Merchant Adventurers had to show his indenture, made in due form according to the custom of the City and a letter from his master, if not present, to testify to his true service. . . . In Wiltshire a man who sought employment as a journeyman weaver was obliged to bring a certificate of his seven years' service, or else his master had to testify to it. The Bristol tailors had a similar rule. In Bath, the merchant tailors refused to allow strangers to work unless they brought proof of their service. *The assumption is that even*

<sup>16</sup> *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 3rd Series, vol. V, p. 201.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 202.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 202 f.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 203.

when it is not so stated, a man would have to show his indenture of apprenticeship and freeman's certificate before he would be allowed to work, at any rate in a place where he was not known.<sup>20</sup>

I have followed Miss Dunlop and quoted her article extensively because she seems to be one writer who has thoroughly gone into this question of English apprenticeship in the Middle Ages, particularly with respect to the matter of proof of service.<sup>21</sup> Her article demonstrates (1) that the guilds, in requiring the journeymen to show a letter or certificate of apprenticeship completed, were returning to a practice prevalent before 1562, and by implication even as early as the fourteenth century; and (2) that there was a clear continuity between the early forms of apprenticeship and the form after 1562.<sup>22</sup>

It would appear that certificates of London citizenship were given in other situations. For example, citizens of London were granted freedom from toll throughout England and from the payment of custom in London. "This ancient chartered right constituted one of the principal attractions of citizenship to alien merchants, who carried their certificates of freedom with them on their trading journeys."<sup>23</sup>

To show how the "Custom of London" with regard to apprenticeship came to be interpreted in the law of England, we may quote an opinion of the eminent lawyer, J. Chitty, writing in 1812. Basing his opinion on the Statutes of Artificers of 1562, he writes:

In order to discharge indentures, it is necessary, not only that the parties should agree to separate, but that the indentures should be

<sup>20</sup> *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 3rd Series, vol. V, pp. 203 ff. (my italics). Cf. Mrs. J. R. Green, *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1894), vol. I, pp. 175 ff. If I appear to be proving past events by future happenings, I may in defense quote Miss Dunlop again: "It is difficult to give a precise account of the development of apprenticeship from its origin down to 1562, for though we have a considerable amount of information, the records of no one locality or trade are so complete as to give a view of the whole system, and our knowledge is gathered from a rule of one guild, the court minutes of another, and the accounts, let us say, of a third. Sometimes the reference to one or other detail is intelligible only because similar phrases appear, with their explanations, in the records of a much later period." (O. Joselyn Dunlop and R. D. Denman, *English Apprenticeship and Child Labour* [New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912], p. 30.)

<sup>21</sup> Supplementary material on apprenticeship in the fourteenth century may be obtained from A. H. Thomas, ed., *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls, 1364-1381* (Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1929), pp. xxx-xlvii; also from L. F. Salzman, *English Industries of the Middle Ages* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1913), pp. 340 ff.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. James E. T. Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages* (London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., 1894), p. 108: "The celebrated statute of 5 Elizabeth was merely declaratory of custom, was in reality only a re-enactment of 7 Hen. IV., with the fact that the machinery for enforcing the law was applied."

<sup>23</sup> *Cal. of Plea and Memo. Rolls, 1364-1381*, p. xlix; and *ibid.*, 1323-1364 (1926), p. 27.

actually cancelled, or given up, or at least something done which the law considers as equivalent to shew that it was done *animus cancellandi*. And it seems as if they must be cancelled by the original master; and it cannot be done by a third person, whom the apprentice is serving with the consent of the first.<sup>24</sup>

Concerning this matter of cancelled indentures, there is a highly suggestive entry (*ca.* 1357) in Letter-Book "G":

William de Mertone and Simon de Mertone, late servant of John de Valenciens, goldsmith, attached, the former for having taken into his service the said Simon, who had left his master without reasonable cause, and refusing to give him up; and the latter for having deserted his master. The said William and Simon, by Robert Stalworth their attorney, do not acknowledge that the said Simon was John's servant as alleged, but say that on a certain day the said Simon had come before the Mayor and Aldermen, and had shown that the said John had taken him, when a freeman of the City, as an apprentice for a term of seven years, contrary to the Custom of the City, and had produced one part of an indenture thereon, and the said John, being called upon to produce the other part, put himself on the mercy of the Mayor, &c. Thereupon, he was condemned to lose the apprenticeship, the indenture was cancelled, and he was committed to prison, quousque, etc. Could the said John maintain his action? As to this the said John says that after the indenture had been made the said Simon came to him with friends, and it was agreed that the said Simon should become his servant, but had left his service, &c. After further pleadings, judgment given against the said John, and William and Simon to go without a day, &c.<sup>25</sup>

The importance of this entry, for our purpose, lies in two facts, (1) that in 1357 the apprentice was able to produce "one part" of his indenture, and the master was supposed to be able "to produce the other part," thus suggesting that indentures were in two parts, of which the master received one and the apprentice the other; and (2) on proof of the master's wrongdoing (which proof was the "one part" of the indenture the apprentice could produce) "the indenture was cancelled," the apprentice's part as well as the master's, thus supporting, in 1357, Mr. Chitty's opinion of 1812 "that the indentures must be actually cancelled."<sup>26</sup> Needless to say, the apprentice would wish to retain his part of the cancelled indenture, in case John de Valenciens should make any further requirement on his services.

<sup>24</sup> J. Chitty, *A Practical Treatise on the Law Relative to Apprentices and Journeymen and to Exercising Trades* (London: W. Clarke and Sons, 1812), pp. 86 f.

<sup>25</sup> R. R. Sharpe, etc., *Calendar of Letter-Books*, Letter-Book "G," p. 98 (my italics). Cf. A. H. Thomas, ed., *Cal. of Plea and Memo. Rolls, 1364-1381* (Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1929), p. 248.

<sup>26</sup> See quotation above from J. Chitty.

We have good reason, then, to believe that a cancelled indenture also might be given in proof of service; that the apprentice on completing his apprenticeship might ask for the cancellation of the indenture which he held, or ask his master for the cancelled indenture which the master held.

We now have the apprentice, Perkyn Revelour, his apprenticeship nearly over, asking for his proof of service. Whether it was a formal certificate, an informal letter signed by his master, his cancelled indentures,<sup>27</sup> or all three, is immaterial since all seem to have been given in proof of service. And "his maister yaf hym acquittance."

The word *acquittance* (A 4411) has usually been interpreted as "release,"<sup>28</sup> and the line as "therefore his master gave him his release," i.e., discharged him. This naturally follows from interpreting A 4404 as indicating that the master consulted his account book and found it unsatisfactory; *therefore* he got rid of his apprentice. But the word *acquittance* means more than the abstract noun "release." This word was used in the Middle Ages invariably in connection with business dealings and in actions at law. It is most often used to show satisfaction of a debt, either by payment of the debt or otherwise, and always is a written document. Thus, from *Liber Albus*:

Item, where a man is impleaded before one of the Sheriffs of London by plaint of debt, and the plaintiff produces an obligation bearing date in London, in proof of the debt so due him, whether the said obligation be simple or endorsed, or made by indentures thereupon; in such case, by usage of the City, the defendant shall not be admitted to plead any *acquittance* or *release* by the plaintiff bearing date in a foreign county, or any payment there made, or condition or other matter, but only such matter as can be enquired into and tried in the same city.<sup>29</sup>

The *Oxford English Dictionary* indicates this meaning in its definition of *acquittance*: "A writing in evidence of a discharge; a release in writing; a receipt in full, which bars a further demand." And all the definitions of *acquittance* in this dictionary, with examples from before the seventeenth century, have this sense, actual or implied, of a written satisfaction of a debt.

<sup>27</sup> Tatlock and MacKaye (*op. cit.*, p. 73), in interpreting *papir* as indentures, at variance with Skeat, Manly and Robinson, are on the right track, but I think they misinterpret *soghte* and follow the latter in choosing the wrong antecedent for the pronouns *he* and *his* in line A 4404.

<sup>28</sup> See the glossaries in the editions by Skeat and Robinson. Manly does not list the word *acquittance* in either his glossary or his notes.

<sup>29</sup> Henry T. Riley, translator and editor, *Liber Albus* (London: Richard Griffin and Company, 1861), p. 185 (my italics). See also *ibid.*, pp. 188, 316; and cf. the numerous acquittances in *Plea and Memoranda Rolls* (refer to editor's index).

That Chaucer, who would know this term from his business background, was using the word "acquittance" in this sense of a written release from an obligation, may also be shown from his *An ABC*:

He [Christ] vouched sauf, tel him, as was his wille,  
Bicome a man, to have oure alliaunce,  
And with his precious blood he wrot the bille  
Upon the crois, as general acquitaunce,  
To every penitent in full creauce.<sup>30</sup>

That is, the bill which Christ *wrote* in His precious blood was the acquittance, the release from sin, of all those who believe in Him. Here, as elsewhere, Chaucer thought of the word *acquittance* as something written. It will also be remembered that making an "acquitaunce" was one of Absolon's skills (A 3327).

That indentures, apprenticeships, and acquittances followed one from the other is made clear from a will proved at Bury St. Edmunds in 1463:

Item I geve and qwethe to William Hussher iij s. iiij d. and he to have his indentour of his prentished the wiche I hadde in kepyng with a quetaunce of his maister by sythe. . . .<sup>31</sup>

That is to say, 'prentice William, like 'prentice Perkyn, was to have his acquittance as well as his cancelled indenture.

What comes out of the above discussion is (a) that the "accounts" or "account books" interpretation of *papir*, hesitantly put forth by Skeat and Robinson, and weakly supported by Manly, is unlikely; (b) that an *acquittance* was not a mere dismissal unevindenced by writing; and, on the other hand, (a) that *papir* clearly has the meaning of "certificate" or "document" in Middle English; (b) that the meaning "ask for" was in general use in the fourteenth century for *soghte*; (c) that to Chaucer *acquittance* meant a written document, a written certificate of service and release in the present instance; (d) that *he* and *his* can be applied to the apprentice without doing the least violence to the text; and (e) that the evidence is strong that apprentices in the fourteenth century received certificates showing completion of apprenticeship. That is to say, *whan he his papir soghte* means "when the apprentice asked for his certificate of completed apprenticeship"; and *therefore his maister yaf hym*

<sup>30</sup> Chaucer, *Works*, ed. Robinson, p. 618, column 1. This beautiful (and "metaphysical") figure is not in Chaucer's source, *Le Pelerinage de la Vie Humaine* by Guillaume Deguileville (see Chaucer, *Works*, ed. Skeat, vol. I, p. 264).

<sup>31</sup> Samuel Tymms, ed., *Wills and Inventories from the Registers of the Commissary of Bury St. Edmunds* (Camden Society, 1850), vol. 49, p. 16.



*acquittance* means "therefore his master gave the apprentice the written certificate" for which the apprentice was asking.<sup>32</sup> There are one or two further bits of evidence to support this conclusion.

There is evidence to show that it was no easy matter in Chaucer's day to dismiss an apprentice, even for cause. In one case, in the year 1430, in order to get rid of an apprentice who had threatened to kill him, it was necessary for the master to apply to the gild wardens, who after failing to reconcile the two, gave the apprentice the choice of going to prison or leaving both craft and town, which is to say, the City of London.<sup>33</sup> Our Perkyn, it is to be noted, not only did not leave town, but continued in his craft in another shop. Furthermore, it is doubtful if Perkyn would have been allowed to pursue his craft in the city without proper dismissal. Some of the crafts are strong on this point; for example, the Hatters in ordinances dated 1347:

Also, that no one of the said trade shall receive the apprentice or serving-man of another, until he has fully completed his term, or his master has given him a proper dismissal.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>32</sup> A possible, though highly questionable, argument against this interpretation of "whan he his papir soghte" should be pointed out. Manly and Rickert's collation of A 4404 is as follows: "4404 he om. G1 To. *Spur.* 1. To ouerse his Papire and hym thorow sought Bo2. Out ne." (John Matthews Manly and Edith Rickert, editors, *The Text of the Canterbury Tales* [Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1940], vol. V, p. 435.) This means, if I make out the hieroglyphics correctly: "4404 he omitted in the Glasgow and Trinity-Oxford MSS. Spurious line: 'To ouerse his Papire and hym thorow sought' in Bodley 686 MS. This line out in the New College-Caxton 1478—Trinity-Cambridge R. 3. 15 Constant group of MSS." (See vol. V, pp. ix-x, for explanation of the Manly and Rickert symbols.) The date of MS Bodley 686, according to Manly and Rickert, is 1430-40. "To ouerse his Papire and hym thorow sought" suggests the traditional interpretation, and even though the line is spurious, it might be argued that a scribe of 1430-40 would know the proper interpretation of this line. This is reasonable, but in view of the notoriously spurious state of MS Bodley 686 (see Manly & Rickert, *op. cit.*, vol. V, pp. 432-437, particularly collations of lines A 4383, 4389, 4399, 4411, and 4413, all spurious; also see vol. II, pp. 167-8), in which the scribe has apparently attempted to rewrite Chaucer, it seems hardly safe to accept this single spurious MS as the proper arbiter of what Chaucer meant. However, it is possible that this spurious line is the great-grandfather, many times removed, of the traditional interpretations which are admittedly unsatisfactory, and which I have attempted to replace by a more logical interpretation.

<sup>33</sup> William Herbert, *The History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London* (London: published by the author, 1837), vol. II, pp. 168-9.

<sup>34</sup> *Memorials*, p. 240. Chaucer's statement that the apprentice was "ny out of his prentishood" (A 4400) is tantalizing; for if he were some years away from finishing his seven-year apprenticeship, he would have no right to his certificate; but since he was some weeks, or at most some months, away from the completion of his service, it would not be surprising for an easy-going master not to insist upon full service right down to the last day. So that "ny out of his prentishood" is almost to say "out of his prentishood."

There is also evidence to show that Perkyn's revelry was not unusual in the London of his time.<sup>85</sup> His master was not throwing him out because he was a rioter; rather, Perkyn wanted to go.

This, then, is the story of the parting of Perkyn Revelour and his master: The apprentice had been with his master until he was almost out of his apprenticeship, from seven to nine years, the customary period for apprenticeship in Chaucer's day. Though the apprentice had lived a somewhat riotous life the entire period, the master was easy-going enough, and sufficiently fond of the apprentice, to keep him on, even at the cost of losing much of his apprentice's time and some of his own money. The apprentice, it is true, was chided early and late, but the fact is that the master kept him on. It was no easy matter to get rid of him and his master did not really want to. However, one day, when the apprentice asked for his release, along with the evidence that he had served his apprenticeship, the master thought to himself that it was better to be rid of this riotous apprentice than to have him ruin all the other servants. So his master gave Perkyn the documentary proof of his service, and sent him off to his own sorrow and ill luck. He was a likable fellow, but he could only come to a bad end.<sup>86</sup>

*New York University*

---

<sup>85</sup> See, for example, *Memorials*, p. 243, and W. Herbert, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 36, for gild rules against just such behavior as Perkyn's.

<sup>86</sup> I should like to thank Professor Roger Sherman Loomis of Columbia University for his encouragement and friendly criticism.

## DECORUM IN ITALIAN RENAISSANCE LITERARY CRITICISM

By VERNON HALL, JR.

In the Renaissance, the writers of literary criticism did not attempt to separate their social ideals from their esthetics. Since the age was aristocratic, the criticism was based upon an acceptance of the existing social hierarchy. As an example, we note that the literary genres were ranked by critics according to their class content. Of the dramatic forms, tragedy was placed highest, since the main characters were kings and princes. The demand that the action consist of battles and matters of high state and that the style, costuming, and stage setting be fitting to the exalted rank of the characters illustrates the social nature of the criticism. On the other hand, comedy was conceived of as concerning itself with the affairs of people of the middle rank, and the mean style was here proper. So, too, the scenes and costumes had to be suitable to bourgeois life. In the dramatic satire and farce the characters were drawn from the lower classes and the action and plot had to be fitted to their level.

No single critical tenet throws more light on this aristocratic basis of Renaissance Italian criticism than *Decorum*. J. E. Spingarn, in his *Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, says of it, "The observance of *decorum* necessitated the maintenance of the social distinctions which formed the basis of Renaissance life and of Renaissance literature."<sup>1</sup> I should rather formulate it: The maintenance of social distinctions necessitated the observance of decorum, but either way brings out the important fact that *decorum* was essentially a class concept and cannot be understood except as such. There may have been a certain esthetic justification for this doctrine. It recognized that the basis of art is form, the relation of section to section and of part to part within the section. Disregarding the prejudices by which they arrived at this conception, the Renaissance artists were able, by applying it, to obtain a highly satisfactory unity of tone. Its realistic value was obvious. As an aid to at least superficial characterization, it was invaluable. That it was important can be seen by the fact that Daniello in *La Poetica* (Venice, 1536) termed it the special study of the poet.

In drama, decorum means the fitting of the action, stage-setting and style to the rank of the characters. It is in connection with style

<sup>1</sup> *Literary Criticism in the Renaissance* (New York, 2nd ed., 1908), p. 87.

that the term is most often used. So Vida in *De Arte Poetica* makes the statement:

When things are small the terms should still be so  
For low words please us when the theme is low.<sup>2</sup>

J. C. Scaliger in his *Poetices libri septem* (Lyons, 1561) divides style into three categories: the grand (*Altiloqua*), the humble (*Infima*), and the mean or middle (*Media*). The use of a particular style depends upon the subject matter. Thus, decorum is the fitting of the style to subject. As an example, Scaliger tells us that the grand style is that which portrays "personas graves, Res excellentes." Continuing, he lists gods, heroes, kings, generals and "great citizens"<sup>3</sup> among the eminent characters for which this style is to be used. Inferior characters, for which a lower style should be used, are sailors, merchants, tradesmen and hostlers.<sup>4</sup> As may be seen from this, the class determination of such genres as Tragedy, Epic, and Comedy is complimented by the same division on the grounds of decorum.

For no other single critic has the problem of decorum such fascination as for Antonio Sebastiano Minturno. In his section on "Il Decoro" in his *Arte Poetica* (Venice, 1563) he distinguishes among styles the *grande*, *humile*, and *mezzana* and declares that the dignity of the subject determines the choice the poet makes. Tasso makes the same division in his third discourse *Dell'Arte Poetica*. He gives the tags *magnifica*, *mediocre*, and *umile* to the three styles. He says that the style *magnifica* is that employed for the epic since it deals with great events and great personages, the middle style is employed when the poet is using the everyday speech of everyday people "se le parole saranno di contado o popolarische a fatto."<sup>5</sup>

The grand style, according to Tasso, depends upon noble conceptions, and these in turn upon the greatness of the subject matter. The subject matters mentioned are those Tasso considers proper to the epic. He writes:

Può nascere la magnificenze da' concetti, dalle parole e dalle composizioni delle parole; a da queste tre parti risulta lo stile, e quelle tre forme, le quali dicemmo. Concetti non sono altro, che imagini delle cose; le quali imagini non hanno soda e reale consistenza in se stesse, come le cose, ma nell'animo nostro hanno un certo loro essere imperfetto, e quivi dall'imaginazione sono formate e figurate. La magnificenza de' concetti sarà, se si tratterà di così grandi; come di Dio, del mondo, degli Heroi, di battaglie terrestri, navali e simili.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>2</sup> A. S. Cook, *The Art of Poetry* (Boston, 1892), III, 411-412.

<sup>3</sup> *Civitates* cannot mean the ordinary citizen since he speaks of merchants, tradesmen, etc. as inferior characters.

<sup>4</sup> IV, 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Discorsi . . . Dell'Arte Poetica: Terzo discorso* (Venice, 1587), c. 28r.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, c. 26r.

Since the problem of decorum in style depends ultimately upon the subject matter and since the subject matter itself depends largely upon the rank of the characters in the genre (the subject matters given by Tasso are those which Scaliger says are fitting to kings), it becomes clear that the class element in decorum is of great importance.

Andrea Gilio in his *Topica Poetica* summarizes the matter thus:

un soggetto basso non si dica con parole alte e gonfie; et un soggetto alto con basse, che sarebbe cosa disdicevole; perchè lo stile deve rispondere al soggetto.<sup>7</sup>

As if this were not clear enough, he continues:

Se si ha da scrivere materia alta, e grave, come si faccia scelta di parole gravi, alto, e sonanti, apparenti, e luminose. Se di bassa e volgare, lievi, piana, e rimesse. Se di mezzana, mezzane e temperate.<sup>8</sup>

He thus defines decorum in terms of the conformity of style with subject matter. "Il Decoro è quella proportion, corrispondanza, o conformità c'ha lo stile co 'l soggetto." This definition, however, puts too much emphasis on the style element in decorum. Decorum must exist in things too.

The problem of decorum of character is very important. As we remember, the division between tragedy and comedy is made according to the social ranks of the characters. Castelvetro in his *Poetica d'Aristotele* (Basilea, 1576) says that the hero of the tragedy must be a king, and he adds:

Adunque appare che la nobiltà e la viltà costituiscono la differenza della poesia per cagione della materia. La qual nobiltà e viltà non si discerne per bontà o per malvagità, ma si discerne per portamenti, i quali portamenti, se sono informati di convenevolezza scoprono la nobiltà, e se sono informati di sconvenevolezza scoprono la viltà. E per convenevolezza io intendo modi e costumi, che non testimonino della bontà o della malvagità dell'animo dell'operante, ma facciano fede della gentilezza o della rusticità dell'operante, e procedono dallo ngegno, ciò è, dall'accorgimento o dalla sciocchezza.<sup>9</sup>

As he explains, it would be a breach of decorum to place a person of low rank in a form which demands exalted treatment. Not only must the poet know what rank of character is best fitted for a given form, but he must take care that in describing his character he never violates the principles of decorum. For instance, Giraldo Cinthio even complains that Greek tragedians did not keep decorum since they

<sup>7</sup> *Topica Poetica* (Venice, 1580), c. 7r. Erroneously numbered 8 in the copy I used.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, c. 7v.

<sup>9</sup> P. 36.

allowed a king to speak of matters of importance in the midst of a multitude of people (the chorus). Homer, too, he says, fails to consider the majesty of the action he had in hand.<sup>10</sup> The decorum of a king is, according to Scaliger, to be wiser and stronger than others so that he can afford protection with his strength, and govern with his wisdom:

Regii officii natura est, praestare caeteris: finis gubernare. Rex itaque naturam sortietur eam, quae & robur praestat, & sapientiam. Naturae conditio applicatio roboris ad tuendum, & sapientiae ad gubernandum.<sup>11</sup>

According to Lionardi, in describing character, the poet must take into careful consideration the section of the country he is from, his "humor," his family, his rank and his nobility. As he says:

Si di persone adunque tratterassi, si considereranno due cose, l'una il generante, l'altra il luogo ove alcuno sia generato. In quanto al luogo si verrà a considerare il sito, et la natura et qualità di questo, & l'origine, potenza, nobiltà & costumi di coloro, che vi abitano. I quanto al generante, quali egli sia, & quali sieno state i suoi maggiori & progenitori, & queste due conditiono principalmente si considerano essendo il padre, & la patria come dite voi, un commune principio della generatione.<sup>12</sup>

Minturno aids the poet seeking decorum or, as he calls it, *convenevolezza*, by listing the characteristics and "humors" of all kinds of people. If a poet is desirous of describing a poor man, a rich man, or a lover, Minturno gives the essential traits. Under *costumi nobile*, we find:

La Nobiltà fa gli huomini superbi, desiderosi di gloria e d'honore, dispregiatori non che de gli oscuri e vili, ma etiandio di coloro, che nuovamente per loro virtù chiari & illustri si sonno fatti, e simili a quelli, che principio diedero alla chiarezza, per la quale essi risplendono, e non per loro stessi.<sup>13</sup>

Minturno desires the poet not only to follow decorum in characteristics, but actually in the costumes and habits of apparel of the characters. Each character must be robed according to both his rank and fortune as well as his "humor." "*Conciosiacosà*" says Minturno

ch'altro habito a' ricchi e potenti; altro a' poveri e mendici; altro a' Principi; & a' gl' Illustri; altro à gli humili, e bassi di fortuna, e di stato si convenga. La onde a' fortunati i vestimenti d'oro, e di por-

<sup>10</sup> *Le Tragedie* (Venice, 1583), p. 141.

<sup>11</sup> *Poetices*, IV, 2.

<sup>12</sup> *Dialoghi della inventione poetica* . . . (Venice, 1554), pp. 16-17.

<sup>13</sup> *Arte Poetica*, p. 47.

pora di davana. A gl'infelici gli oscuri, & i persi; e talvolta i bianchi; ma sozzi, e pieni di lordura.<sup>14</sup>

Minturno continues for several hundred words this listing of appropriate habits for various characters, all in the name of decorum. The poet's duty is to represent down to the last button the differences that distinguish people in an aristocratic society.

Decorum is not only a principle but a very useful tool. The age demands classification and what can be easier than to classify according to social class? One genre is separated from another according to the rules of *convenevolezza*. Thus, each genre uses a different level of speech. According to Varchi in his *Ercolano*, one employs only the most restrained and non-vulgar words for such noble genres as the heroic and lyric, while for such humble types as the dialogues, one uses the language just as do people talking to each other.<sup>15</sup> The lyric genres are considered as noble as the heroic and tragic. So great is the authority of Dante and Petrarch that the *canzone* and sonnet are looked upon as consecrated and no one dare change them. Dante had said of the *canzone* that it is the most excellent of all forms and should be treated in the most excellent language, and the Renaissance critics add nothing to this. Aristotle cannot help them here, and since lyrics are hard to handle from the standpoint of social rank, the Renaissance theorists do not attempt an organized theory of lyric poetry. In the case of Jason de Nores, the social reason is given frankly. He says he speaks only of those forms which can help the readers to become good citizens:

gli epigrammi, elegie, ode, & altri simili componimenti, che non erano giovevoli comunemente al publico, come cose di poco momento, & appartenenti piu tosto al grammatico prudentissimamente le tralascio, & tratto solo di quelli, che erano rappresenti alla moltitudine nelle ben institute Republiche.<sup>16</sup>

Since the lyrics cannot help preserve the decorum of daily life or strengthen the state, De Nores does not bother treating them. He treats Comedy, Tragedy and Epic, alone, at length, since they have, he feels, a close connection with good government. Though some critics disagree with him as regards this question, their approach is equally social.

Minturno can find no better way to describe certain genres than by saying that they are *mixed*. Tragedy and Comedy are pure types since they are each limited to one class of characters; a mixed genre

<sup>14</sup> *Arte Poetica*, p. 97.

<sup>15</sup> *Ercolano e lezioni quattro sopra alcune questioni d'amori* (Milan, 1880), p. 196.

<sup>16</sup> *Apologia contra l'autor del Verato* (Padua, 1590), c. 3v.



is one in which the social classes are mingled. An example of the latter is the

Satyrica Tragedia, che con gl'Iddii, e con le persone gravi intrapone i Satyri, & i Sileni; e con la gravità delle cose il giuoco & il riso.<sup>17</sup>

Some critics are joyful over the freedom offered by this mixed genre. G. Cecchi hails the Farce as a third species between Comedy and Tragedy that receives not only great lords and princes but the lowest and most common people into its walls like some great inn. As a result it can treat all subjects grave and light, profane and pleasant, polite and rough.<sup>18</sup>

A heated discussion soon springs up over the so-called mixed genres. Is the mixing of people of different ranks a violation of *decorum*? "Absolutely," says De Nores. In his *Poetica*, he admits only the three great genres. The epic instructs heroism; the tragedy teaches a hatred of tyrants; and the comedy adjusts citizens to the life of the state. All other genres are incapable of inculcating the politico-moral lessons and are, therefore, bastard genres, not even worthy of discussion. This position quite naturally angers the author of *Il Pastor Fido*, and Guarini, under the pseudonym of Verrato, writes an answer.<sup>19</sup> He declares that in actual life great and humble persons are mixed in the state; therefore, he can see no sense in De Nores' attempt to keep them separate in the drama. De Nores is shocked, and replies immediately in the *Apologia contra l'autor del Verrato*. First, he reiterates the social function of poetry, then he asks how a story of pastoral life can have an application to city dwellers? It can have none; it is, therefore, "senza alcun fine utile."<sup>20</sup> Secondly, he declares that poetry without decorum is unthinkable and that the keeping of decorum is impossible if characters are of different rank. What style of writing are you going to use, grand or humble? Are the stage-settings going to be palaces or humble cottages? If the first, they are inappropriate for the shepherds; if the second, they are unthinkable for the nobles.<sup>21</sup> Guarini writes a second *Verrato* and later a *Compendio* of the whole argument. One can hardly blame him for his anger, but his epithets of "il immodesto, il colpevole, il provocante, il calogniatore, il pubblicator di libelli famosi, il bugiardo, . . ." are harsh even when applied to De Nores. Guarini's position is that the purpose of art is to please and that the

<sup>17</sup> *Arte Poetica*, p. 42.

<sup>18</sup> Prologue to *La Romanesca* (Florence, 1874).

<sup>19</sup> *Il Verrato ovvero difesa di quanto ha scritto messer Jason di Nores contra le tragicommedie e le pastorali in suo discorso di poesia*, in his *Opere* (Verona, 1737).

<sup>20</sup> *Apologia*, c. 6v.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, c. 51v.

artificial restrictions of a De Nores are sheer nonsense. This enlightened position is not typical of the age, however, and most critics agree with De Nores. De Nores finds a staunch defender in Faustino Summo, the author of *Discorsi Poetici* (1600). Summo looks at the whole controversy from the standpoint of decorum.

Tragi-comedy or Pastoral Tragi-comedy are faced with a dilemma which cannot be solved, says Summo. Since they mix various social classes (itself a breach of decorum)<sup>22</sup> they cannot possibly use a style which can satisfy decorum for both classes.<sup>23</sup> This is equally true of stage-settings. If you keep decorum for one class, you break it for another.<sup>24</sup> Thus, mixed genres are unthinkable.

It would not be worth our while to examine remarks made by the critics concerning other minor genres since, in reading the discussions concerning them, few appear of interest to this paper. Giraldi Cinthio, in discussing dramatic satire, makes the type and class of characters the distinguishing factor,<sup>25</sup> while Castelvetro demands that characters in the pastoral speak like ignorant rustics.<sup>26</sup>

It should be abundantly clear by this time that *decorum* as a critical term must be understood largely in a social sense. Not only did the maintenance of *convenevolezza* buttress the hierarchy of society that existed, but it also served as a tool of great critical usefulness. By its use the critics determined the style appropriate to each rank of character and were thus enabled to make, on the basis of class differences, a satisfactory distinction between the genres.

Dartmouth College

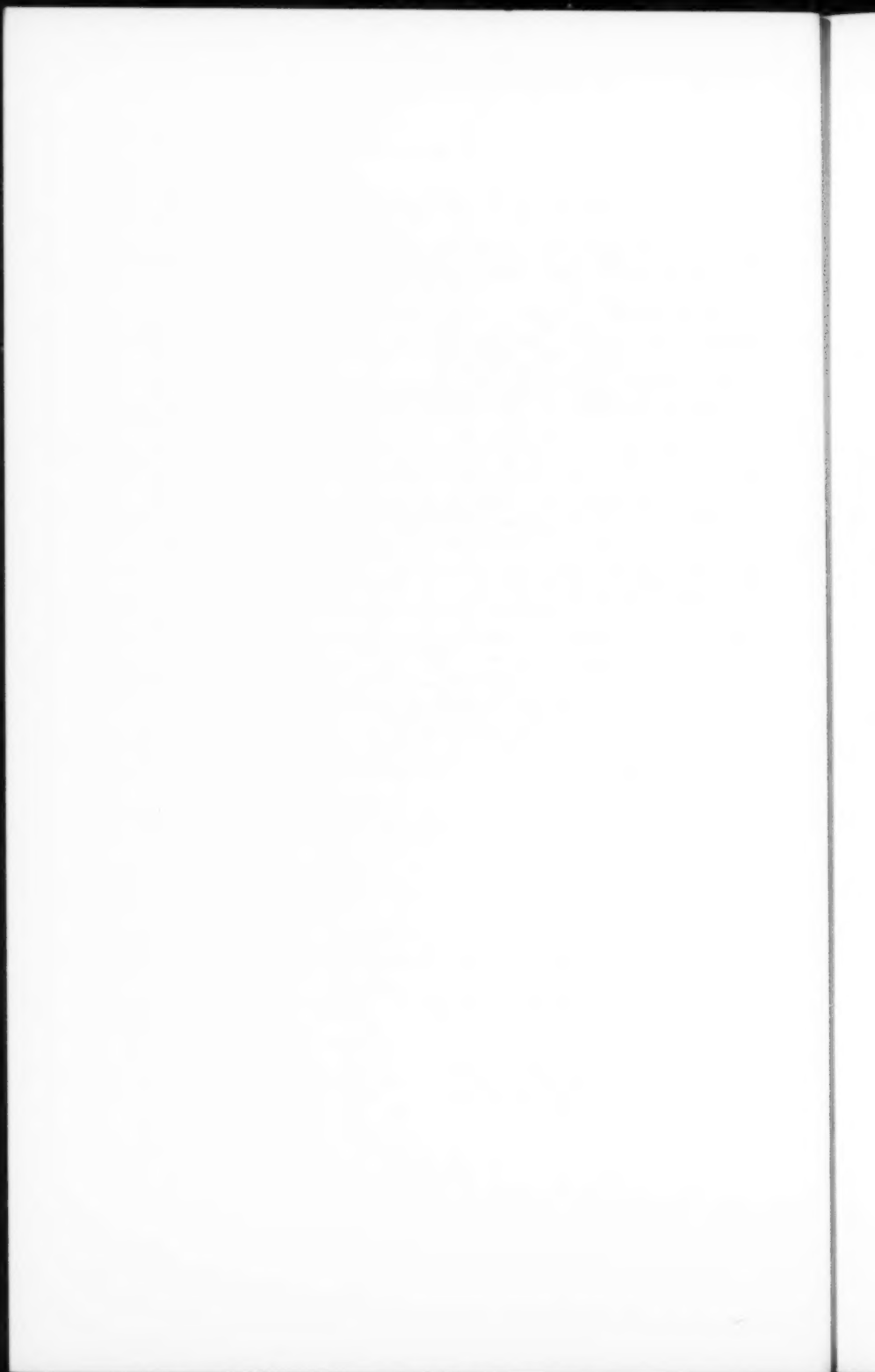
<sup>22</sup> Summo, *Discorsi poetici ne quali si discorreno le piu principali questioni di poesia, & si dichiarano molti luoghi dubi & difficili intorno all'arte del poetare* (Padua, 1600).

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, c. 79r.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, c. 80r.

<sup>25</sup> *Scritti estetici; dè romanzi delle comedie e delle tragedie* (in *Bibliotheca rara da Daelli*, nos. LI, LII (Milan, 1864), II, 39.

<sup>26</sup> *Poetica d'Aristotele*, p. 578.



## IMPLICATIONS OF THE THEORY OF CLIMATIC INFLUENCE IN MILTON

By THOMAS B. STROUP

Mr. Z. S. Fink's recent illuminating article<sup>1</sup> on Milton and the Renaissance theory of climatic influence is concerned chiefly with tracing the background of the theory and with showing Milton's varying attitudes toward it, his apparent belief in it at times and his apparent rejection of it at times. But the theory involves more than this in Milton's writings. Whether or not he believed throughout his life that people living in a northern or a cold climate were anti-intellectual, Milton made use of the idea in his writings, touching upon it, often obliquely, in places Mr. Fink does not observe; and he connects the theory, especially as it may refer to the seasons of the year, with his own powers of composition, as well as with his literary ambitions. Moreover, in its wider applications the theory was adapted to Milton's scheme of things, to the order of the universe which resulted from the Fall. That violence, barbarism, and mental inertia were associated with cold countries fits easily into the poet's cosmology; that the slow, phlegmatic mind is associated with the cold and dull personality, which is in turn associated with a cold climate or a cold season, and that the imaginative and sanguine mind is associated with the warm and keenly alert personality, and with a warm climate or season, likewise fits into his scheme of the universe. The theory of climatic influence and the old theory of the humors are parts of the same view of the world, interrelated and interdependent; and Milton knew of this interrelation. These wider implications, supplementary to Mr. Fink's study, deserve notice.

It is worth mentioning that Milton at least suggests the climatic theory in his treatment of Satan and his followers. Satan, the opponent of right reason, the enemy of law and order, and the support and defender of passion and lust, withdraws to the north of heaven when he breaks with the Father and there establishes his throne and calls his council.<sup>2</sup> In their famous conclave in Hell, moreover,

<sup>1</sup> "Milton and the Theory of Climatic Influence," *MLQ*, II (March, 1941), 67-80.

<sup>2</sup> See *Paradise Lost*, V, 689, 725-6, 755; VI, 79. Uriel reports that Satan even alights on a mountain top to the north of Eden (IV, 569). All references are to the *Columbia Milton*. I am aware, of course, of the traditional association of the Devil with northern regions in folklore, but I believe that Milton could hardly have assigned his Satan, the violent warrior against right reason, a northern habitat without thinking of its appropriateness to the climatic theory.

Satan's forces are likened to the "barbarous Sons" that swept down from "the populous north" over the south of Europe, even to pass the Danube and the Rhine and spread to Gibraltar and "the Lybian sands."<sup>3</sup> It had been the tradition since the days of Herodotus to think—too often, not without cause—of the barbaric races as living in the north. Even as far back as 1637 Milton had reference to these peoples. In a letter to Charles Diodati on September 2 of that year he had indicated playfully that no learned folk lived among the hyperboreans. At that time Diodati was living somewhere to the north of London, though perhaps not so far away as Chester; and the poet wanted to know how the young, keen-witted doctor could find intellectual stimulation among the barbarians, when he inquired if there were "any smallish learned folks with whom you can willingly associate and chat" in those parts.<sup>4</sup> He wanted to know "How long do you intend to dwell among the hyperboreans?" Thus the theory in relation to anti-intellectual races functions in the poet's writings, and is a shaping influence in them.

It also functions in his conception of the creation and ordering of the world. Describing the creation, Raphael says that in the beginning darkness covered the abyss and that the spirit of God infused, not only the "vital vertue" throughout the inchoate mass, but the "vital warmth" as well. It also "downward purg'd" the cold which is "Adverse to life."<sup>5</sup> After the Fall, moreover, a new order (or disorder) in nature is designed to provide for the discord brought into the world by the sin of our first parents. The sun must move so as to affect the earth with extremes of heat and cold "Scarce tollerable."<sup>6</sup> The original system of perpetual equinoxes and eternal spring is supplanted by the change of seasons, extremes of temperature, torrid and frigid climates on the earth. The deviation is from the perfection represented by the equinoxes and the eternal spring of Eden. Hence, Adam, becoming reconciled to his lot after the Fall, must adjust himself to the change—to

Th' inclement Seasons, Rain, Ice, Hail and Snow.<sup>7</sup>

Adam dreads most the cold seasons, the necessity for clothing and fire and housing. Thus the cold seasons especially affect the nature of man.

<sup>3</sup> *Paradise Lost*, I, 350-355.

<sup>4</sup> *Columbia Milton*, XII, 21. See also Masson's *Life*, II (1871), 81.

<sup>5</sup> *Paradise Lost*, VII, 233-242. One might mention also that Rome, the very symbol of civilization, in *Paradise Regained* (IV, 30 ff.), is screened "From cold Septentrion blasts."

<sup>6</sup> *Paradise Lost*, X, 651-719.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 1055 ff.

As one looks more closely at the application of the climatic theory to the individual, one notices its connection with the even more popular theory of the humors. Gabriel, advising Adam how best to live this mortal life, recommends the Aristotelian rule of "not too much" and explains that, as age overtakes the mortal, now that it must,

. . . in thy blood will reigne  
A melancholy damp of cold and dry  
To weigh thy spirits down, and last consume  
The Balme of Life.<sup>8</sup>

Burton's *Anatomy*, the most popular treatise of the time dealing with the humors, a book with which Milton had been familiar since the days of his octosyllabics, says that natural melancholy, whose characteristic is coldness, is "an inseparable accident" of old age.<sup>9</sup> Burton, moreover, quotes Rhasis to the effect that "the finest wits and most generous spirits, are before others obnoxious to it." Thus man's gradual physical dissolution, according to both Burton and Milton, is a return to the cold whence he came. Death is, in a way, a deviation from the pristine balance in nature, and cold (dominant in natural melancholy) is its characteristic. The conflict in Chaos among the elemental forces of nature, "hot, cold, moist, and dry, four Champions fierce,"<sup>10</sup> has to do with the same theory in the Macrocosm. Man, the little world, has the same "complexion" as the big world.

Milton assuredly associated (if, indeed, he did not identify) the climatic theory with the theory of the humors and melancholy in the famous introduction to Book IX (referred to by Mr. Fink), in which he mentions the cold climate, and the coming of age as well, to "damp" his "wing Deprest." He is obviously as fearful of the coming of cold melancholy with old age as he is of England's cold climate!

. . . higher Argument  
Remaines, sufficient of it self to raise  
That name, unless an age too late, or cold  
Climat, or Years damp my intended wing  
Deprest, and much they may, if all be mine,  
Not Hers who brings it nightly to my Ear.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Paradise Lost*, XI, 543-546.

<sup>9</sup> *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (New York, 1924), p. 110.

<sup>10</sup> *Paradise Lost*, II, 898. Cf. Burton, *op. cit.*, p. 81, Man the Microcosmos, the epitome of the world. Professor G. C. Taylor calls my attention to Du Bartas' long passage on the effect of climate on man, a reference to the theory that escaped Mr. Fink. See *Second Sepmaine*, "Colonies," lines 451 ff. I refer to the Holmes, Lyons, Linker edition (University of North Carolina Press, 1940).

<sup>11</sup> *Paradise Lost*, IX, 42-47.

Here again the poet is remembering Burton, or the widespread teachings brought together by Burton. Burton had said that cold air "in the other extreme is almost as bad as hot" in causing melancholy, and he continued:

In those northern countries, the people are therefore generally dull, heavy, and many witches, which (as I have before quoted) Saxo Grammaticus, Olaus, Baptista Porta ascribe to melancholy. But these cold climes are more subject to natural melancholy (not this artificial) which is cold and dry: for which caused Mercurius Britannicus belike puts melancholy men to inhabit just under the Pole.<sup>12</sup>

Milton, thus, in the manner of Burton connects the two, if they can be called two, theories. His advancing years, with attendant melancholy, as well as the cold seasons in England, may impede poetic composition; the cold of increasing age, according to Gabriel, brings dissolution. The humors of the body and the elemental forces of nature are closely related, if not identical; the poet applies them to his own case.

This application, moreover, brings up the old subject of the seasons in their relation to the "flow of Milton's vein," a subject Mr. Fink leaves out of account. The cold climate, or the cold season either, might well affect the individual's powers of mind, his creative ability especially.

The question involved is this: At what season of the year did Milton compose most easily? The evidence is conflicting. From the passage in *Paradise Lost* quoted immediately above it would appear that summer or spring would be best. From "Elegy V, *In adventum veris*," written about 1638, the poet says that, with the returning warmth of spring, his powers of composition return; his powers rise even as the sap in the trees. Yet in "Elegy VI," to Diodati, he says unmistakably that he had the inspiration for "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity" on Christmas morning: "the first lights as the dawn drew near, gave me this song."<sup>13</sup>

In addition, the evidence of the early biographers is conflicting. Edward Phillips says that the poet's vein failed him as summer came on,<sup>14</sup> and it is reported that the last Mrs. Milton said her hus-

<sup>12</sup> Burton, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

<sup>13</sup> *Columbia Milton*, I (Part I), 215. See John S. Diekhoff, *Milton on Himself* (New York, 1939), pp. 51-2, note 8, for discussion of Milton's seasonal composition. Mr. Fink, though he notices Miss Darbishire's inadequate discussion of the matter, fails himself to mention Diekhoff's discussion, which relates the general climatic theory to the particular matter of seasonal composition.

<sup>14</sup> Helen Darbishire, ed., *The Early Lives of Milton* (London, 1932), p. 73.



band composed best in winter.<sup>15</sup> Jonathan Richardson's life of Milton prefixed to the *Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton's "Paradise Lost,"* 1734, reviews the subject, pointing out that Toland had not believed Phillips' report, but had rather maintained that Milton composed best in warm weather. Richardson says that he believes in neither theory wholly and holds that Milton must have been so full of his great subject as to be unable to cease from composition.<sup>16</sup> In addition to what Richardson reports of his comments, Toland says that a "more judicious friend" of Milton's than Phillips had informed him that the poet composed well only in the spring and the autumn.<sup>17</sup> Thus no ready and easy way to the solution of our problem is apparent; we cannot be altogether sure of what season was best for Milton's creative powers. But from the evidence on the general influence of climate on mental activity, from the association of the forces of evil and anti-intellectualism with cold places, from the consideration of the perfectly-balanced, eternal spring of Eden as the climate and the season ideal, and from the "judicious friend's" testimony, I believe we may conclude fairly reasonably that the poet would consider the time of the equinoxes, spring and autumn, most propitious for poetic (or other intellectual) activity. The mean between extremes, the balanced universe, the Golden Mean—these were best. Indeed, in "Elegy V" the poet never says that the whole summer season is best for the flow of his vein; it is the spring he celebrates. Nor does Phillips say that the spring was bad for Milton's inspiration.

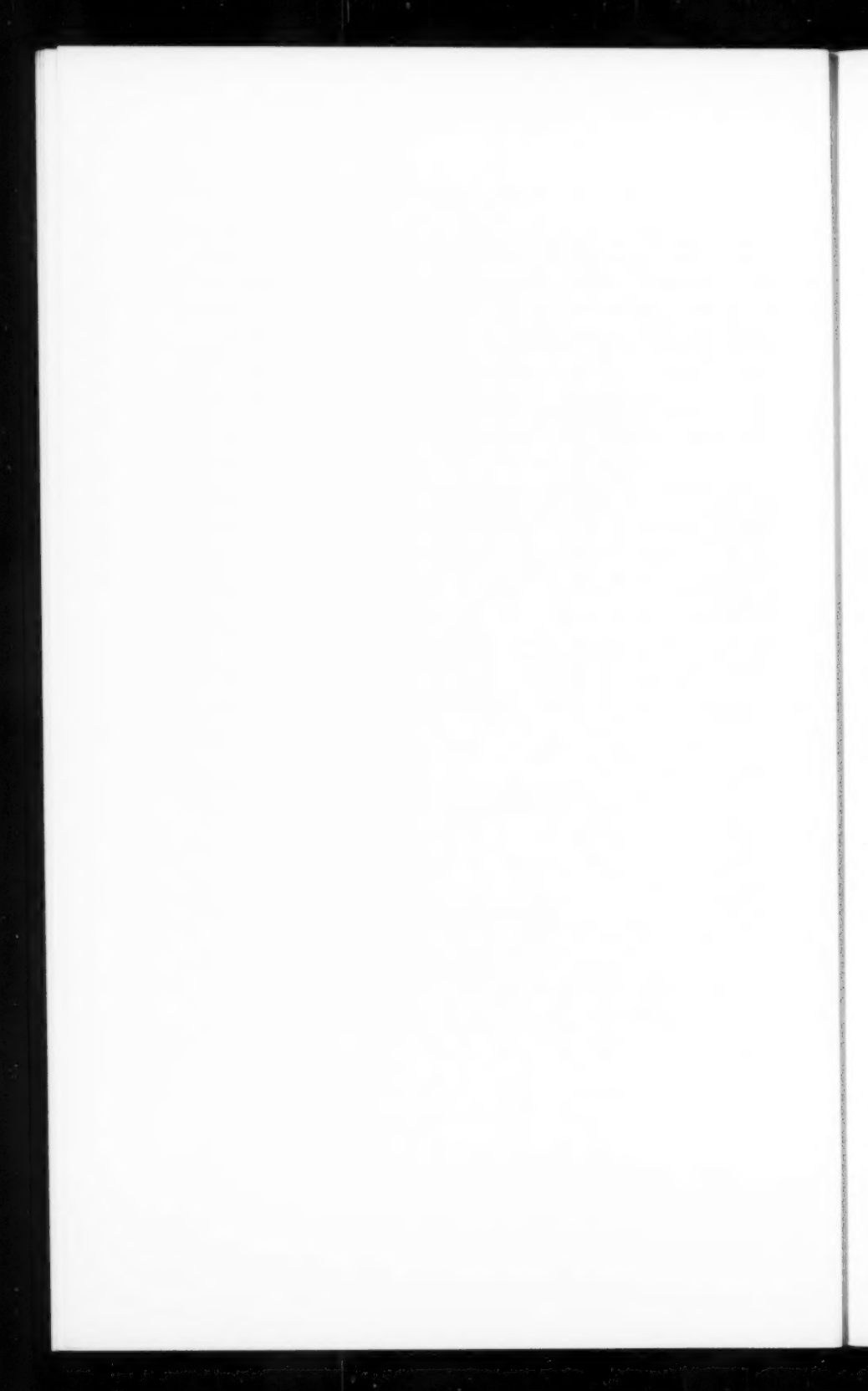
These matters, supplementary to Mr. Fink's discussion, then, emerge. Milton refers, sometimes indirectly but none-the-less assuredly, to the Renaissance climatic theory in places other than those mentioned by Mr. Fink, and these references show the theory functioning in the poet's interpretation of his universe, especially in *Paradise Lost*. Milton also, following Burton, relates, if he does not identify, this theory with that of the humors. In addition, he extends the theory to his own work. Without doubt Milton believed he wrote better at one season than another, however confused his friends and early biographers may have remained about the matter. If we can trust the references in *Paradise Lost* as sincere, then the seasons of the equinoxes were perhaps his best. The climatic theory has wider implications than Mr. Fink would allow.

*University of Florida*

<sup>15</sup> Darbishire, *op. cit.*, p. 337, notes.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 290-91.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 178.



## JONATHAN SWIFT AND THE VOCABULARY OF ENGLISH

By J. H. NEUMANN

Next to Johnson, the most important literary figure of the eighteenth century to concern himself seriously with problems of English was Jonathan Swift; and of all the great writers of the earlier part of the period whose work had a regulatory and standardizing effect upon the language, he was certainly the most influential. His efforts in these directions were recognized by his contemporaries and immediate followers, and his authority carried well over into the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Lord Orrery, writing within six years of Swift's death, was among the first to acclaim him as a great "improver" of the language.<sup>2</sup> The lexicographers Bailey, Sheridan, Johnson, and Webster either ascribe to him certain important developments in the language, or pay him no less tribute by making his theories and pronouncements the starting point of their discussions on English. Bailey, for example, calls special attention to Swift's remarks on the "Gothic roughness" of the English language, and regrets with him its lack of "southern" softness and delicacy.<sup>3</sup> Sheridan establishes the authority of his pronunciation by modelling it, as he explains, upon the speech of "an intimate friend and chosen companion of Dean Swift."<sup>4</sup> Even Johnson, who in his *Dictionary* (1755) rejects as chimerical the idea of a permanent crystallization of the English language, appears, if we consider the evidence of his earlier *Plan of a Dictionary* (1747), ready to accept Swift's views on the desirability of limiting further change in the language.<sup>5</sup> Webster attributes the stability of English spelling to the labors of Swift and his contemporaries.<sup>6</sup> The great rhetoricians and grammar-

<sup>1</sup> For an account of Swift's influence upon later writers in connection with his proposal for establishing an academy of the English language, see Herman M. Flasdieck, *Der Gedanke einer englischen Sprachakademie in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* . . . (Jena, 1928).

<sup>2</sup> John Boyle, Earl of Orrery, *Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Jonathan Swift*, 3d ed. (London, 1752), p. 151.

<sup>3</sup> N[athaniel] Bailey, *Dictionarium Britannicum* . . . , 2nd ed. (London, 1736), Preface, p. [5].

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Sheridan, *A General Dictionary of the English Language* (London, 1780), I, Preface, p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Otto Funke, *Englische Sprachphilosophie im späteren 18-ten Jahrhundert* (Bern, 1934), p. 135.

<sup>6</sup> Noah Webster, *Dissertations on the English Language* (Boston, 1789), p. 77.

ians of the century, though they frequently disagree with Swift on specific points of grammar and usage, also have much to say of his influence on vocabulary and style. Campbell ascribes to Swift's "unrelenting attacks" the disappearance of clipped forms like *incog*, *hyp*, *rep*, and the disrepute into which the use of contractions had fallen.<sup>7</sup> Blair commends him for establishing a standard of purity by "using no words but such as were of native growth."<sup>8</sup> Lowth, Buchanan, Beattie, Kames, and a number of lesser writers speak of him in much the same vein. Though some of these statements are uncritical and require considerable revision, they offer evidence, nevertheless, of the extent of Swift's influence, in the opinions of these early students of the language, on the character and development of standard English.

The purpose of this paper is to examine Swift's utterances and practices in regard to certain limited aspects of English vocabulary, to compare them with the opinions and practices of some of his literary contemporaries, and to indicate their bearing on the later development of the language.<sup>9</sup>

Swift's remarks on the English language are not confined to any single work—though his essay in *The Tatler*, 230 (1710), his *Proposal for Correcting, Improving, and Ascertaining the English Language* (1712), his *Letter to a Young Clergyman* (1721), and his *Polite Conversation* (1736), are source documents of the first importance—but appear frequently in the form of *obiter dicta* even in his poems, essays, and letters. Nor can they be said to be based upon the careful and scholarly examination of any single language or group of languages. They are rather the opinions of a person who approaches linguistic problems with fixed ideals of order and form, derived from the traditional attitude toward the classical languages, and who is moved, above all, by a great desire to bring beauty and regularity to what he regards as the awkward and shifting features of his native tongue. Swift is concerned with the cultivated language, the medium of "polite" expression, not the ordinary tool of everyday, colloquial speech. He does not seem to have appreciated fully the dynamic character of language, and his theorizing is based upon the idea that the tendency of language to change can and should be controlled by outside authority.

<sup>7</sup> George Campbell, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (London, 1776), ed. New York, 1858, p. 202.

<sup>8</sup> Hugh Blair, *Lectures on Rhetoric* (1783), ed. Philadelphia, 1833, p. 104.

<sup>9</sup> Brief expositions of some aspects of Swift's language appear in Johan Storm, *Englische Philologie* (Leipzig, 1896), I, 918 ff., Henry Cecil Wyld, *A History of Modern Colloquial English* (London, 1920), pp. 158-160, 392-394, and *Studies in English Rhymes* (London, 1924), *passim*.

Swift's knowledge of earlier English cannot have been extensive. The only reference to Anglo-Saxon in his *History of England* (written 1719) is the observation that "with the Saxons, English came in, although extremely different from what it is now."<sup>10</sup> Elsewhere in the same work he ascribes the introduction of the French language into England to the Norman education of Edward the Confessor, a statement he repeats in his Letter to the Earl of Oxford, where he adds the "generally accepted opinion" that William the Conqueror endeavored to make French the "universal language" of the kingdom. He speaks also of the great progress that French made during the reign of Henry II, and gives a historical reason for it, namely, "the constant intercourse between France and England, by the dominions we possessed there and the conquests we made." He comes to the conclusion, borne out by our present knowledge of the history of the language, that English "between two and three hundred years ago seems to have had a greater mixture of French than at present."<sup>11</sup>

Swift's interest in the French element in the vocabulary of English is reflected in his attitude toward recent French loan words. In his Preface to the *Memoirs of Sir William Temple* (1701) he deplores, it is true, the author's use of French words, but he explains that Sir William had lived so many years abroad that it was difficult for him to write on public affairs without "some tincture" of French in his style.<sup>12</sup> The constant use, however, of French words and expressions by Swift's correspondents without a word of disapproval by Swift—something wholly out of character for him—indicates an extraordinary tolerance toward these foreignisms. Swift himself uses French words and phrases freely in his poetical works, and scores of them appear in his private correspondence. Occasionally he employs a word in a way that suggests a preference for a French as against a possible English word. "I thought him the greatest *chicaneur* that ever came my way," he writes in a letter to Ford.<sup>13</sup> "It was a *gasconade* of yours," he observes in the *Journal to Stella*.<sup>14</sup> Again, in a letter to Ford, "I have been hindered by lazyness, and listlessness, and *anneantissement* to write to you."<sup>15</sup> Sometimes he introduces a French word with the implication that the corresponding term does not exist in English. "Nothing is held more commendable in all great

<sup>10</sup> *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Temple Scott (London, 1907), VII, 226.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, XI, 8.

<sup>12</sup> *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Herbert Davis (Oxford, 1939), I, 269.

<sup>13</sup> *The Letters of Jonathan Swift to Charles Ford*, ed. David Nichol Smith (Oxford, 1935), p. 142.

<sup>14</sup> J. K. Moorhead, *The Journal to Stella*, Everyman ed. (London, n. d.), p. 71.

<sup>15</sup> Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

cities . . . than what the French call *police*."<sup>16</sup> "He was . . . what the French call a *dupe*, and in a very high degree."<sup>17</sup> His motto during the bitter years after he had "left the World" was, we may recall, *vive la bagatelle*, a phrase which occurs also in his correspondence. Some of these French words were very recent importations into the language in Swift's day. The word *gasconnade*, for example, appears first in an essay of Steele's in the *Tatler*. Swift uses it just one year later in the *Journal to Stella*. Both the noun *dupe* and the verb *to dupe* are somewhat older, though the *New English Dictionary* records the first citation for the latter from Swift.<sup>18</sup> Other French words for which Swift is credited with the earliest citation are *grisette* in the sense of "a young woman employed as a shop assistant or seamstress," the phrase *on the qui-vive*, and the partial coinages *journalier*, "a journalist," and *platonne*, "a female Plato." The word *belles-lettres*, however, similarly attributed to Swift by the *New English Dictionary*, appears in earlier authors.<sup>19</sup>

This attitude of Swift toward the French language is at variance with the expressed views of many of his contemporaries, though not entirely with their practice. Dryden, for example, ridicules in *Marriage à la Mode* (1673) the habit of introducing French words and phrases in ordinary conversation; yet he himself gave currency to a number of these very importations.<sup>20</sup> Addison, too, devotes a whole essay in the *Spectator* to an attack on French words, particularly military terms;<sup>21</sup> but he appears to have been the first, according to the *New English Dictionary*, to employ in literature the words *critique*, *hors-d'œuvre*, *bouts-rimes*, and to use the English words *agreeable* and *junction* in "senses close to the French." Defoe, likewise, assails these borrowings in the *Compleat English Gentleman* (written 1728-1729). Yet he, too, uses these French words, though, it is said, more moderately than other writers of his time.<sup>22</sup> What is

<sup>16</sup> Temple Scott, VII, 267. Cf. Chesterfield, *Miscellaneous Works* (London, 1778), I, 213: "We are accused by the French and perhaps too justly, of having no word in our language which answers to their word *police*, which therefore we have been obliged to adopt, not having, as they say, the thing."

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, XI, 162.

<sup>18</sup> The word occurs in Dryden's *Essay on Dramatic Poesy* (1668). "A servant who has much wit to strike in with him, and help to dupe his father."

<sup>19</sup> It occurs in Thomas Sprat's *Observations on Monsieur de Sorbier's Voyage into England* (1665). "I now pass over to his chief delight, the Belles Lettres of the English."

<sup>20</sup> Anton Ksoll, *Die Französischen Lehn- und Fremdwörter in der englischen Sprache der Restaurationszeit* (Breslau, 1933). Among the words listed as appearing first in Dryden are *apropos*, *cavalièrement*, *nom de guerre*, *pasquin* (v.), *verve*.

<sup>21</sup> *The Spectator*, 165.

<sup>22</sup> Gustaf L. Lammert, *An Investigation into the Language of Robinson Crusoe* (Uppsala, 1910), p. 16, observes that the only French word in *Robinson Crusoe* is *coup-de-grace*. In the *Compleat English Gentleman*, however, where this objection is emphasized (ed. Karl D. Bülbring, London, 1890, pp. 200-201), I find *carte blanche*, p. xiv, *canaille*, p. 14, *grand seigneur*, p. 29, and *cadet*, p. 53.

peculiar about Swift is his implied approval of the practice. In his tacit acceptance of these borrowings he anticipates, as it were, the later history of these words in the English language.

On the subject of provincialisms or regional dialect words Swift's position is clearer. He emphatically disapproves of them as departures from an implied standard or norm. The two regional dialects he singles out for condemnation are the Scotch and the Irish. Thus he points out, not without a touch of malice, what he regards as Scotticisms in the style of Bishop Burnet's *History of His Own Times*: the use of the words *piousest* for *most pious*, *liker* for *more like*, and *cast for found guilty*.<sup>23</sup> A chance remark of Bishop Burnet to the effect that *Paradise Lost* is "the best poem in our language" draws Swift's fire: "A mistake, for it is in English!" In his essay *On Barbarous Denominations in Ireland* Swift goes out of his way again to denounce as highly offensive Scotch "cadence" and expression."<sup>24</sup> And in his annotations in Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* he includes in his denunciation of everything Scotch two words used by the author which he believes to be Scotticisms, namely, *gloriation* and *timeously*.<sup>25</sup>

Swift's treatment of the Irish dialect of English is very much the same. In his poem *To Charles Ford on His Birthday* (1723) he speaks contemptuously of "Irish phrases," which irritate him.<sup>26</sup> In *An Answer to Several Letters* (1729) he attributes the backwardness of the country to the language of the inhabitants and therefore proposes its abolition.<sup>27</sup> In the essay *On Barbarous Denominations*, a characteristic satire on Irish place-names, he again calls for the suppression of the dialect for the good of the inhabitants of the country. But his criticism is not entirely negative, for in his *Sermon on the Causes of the Wretched Condition of Ireland* he pleads for the establishment of schools in every parish in the country in which the children of the poor might be taught to speak and read the standard language.<sup>28</sup>

Just what kind of words, constructions, and pronunciations Swift regarded as peculiarly Irish one may gather from a short parody entitled *A Dialogue in the Hibernian Style*, which appears in Volume VII of Temple Scott's edition of Swift's *Prose Works*.<sup>29</sup> According

<sup>23</sup> Temple Scott, X, 327 ff.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 346.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 302.

<sup>26</sup> *The Poems of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Harold Williams (Oxford, 1937), I, 312.

<sup>27</sup> Temple Scott, VII, 133.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 214.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 363-364. A variant version of the same dialogue is given on p. 361 of the same volume.



to a note of Sir Walter Scott, the dialogue was intended to represent Irish "blunders," and evoked a retaliatory piece by Sheridan representing English errors. Swift makes use of genuine Irish words like *spaulpeen*, "a rascal," *soogaun*, "a saddle made of straw," *fraughans*, "whortleberries," *to cosher*, "to live at free quarters on dependents or kinsmen," as well as provincialisms like *stirabout* and *staggard*. He indicates dialectal pronunciations by spelling *boddered* for *bothered*, *bear* for *beer*, *cheney cups* for *china cups*. He uses constructions and expressions like *learn him better manners, without you saw him on Sunday, them apples is very good, I wonder what is gone with them*.<sup>30</sup> Another series of "dialect" forms occurs in the poem *A Ballad* (1737), attributed to Swift, and included in Mr. Williams' collection of the *Poems* with the precautionary note that the evidence for Swift's authorship is not entirely convincing.<sup>31</sup> This poem has a number of dialect words like *astore*, *arraah*, *lorsha*, pronunciations like *shteeple*, *jauntleman*, and constructions like *I saw'd him reading, who was it made this law, the bell she was ringing*.

Yet despite these strictures on dialect or pseudo-dialect forms, Swift himself lapses into dialect occasionally. Sir Walter Scott points out that Swift uses the word *cant* in his *History of England* in the dialect sense of "buying or selling by auction." "The two monks were outvying each other in canting the price on the abbey."<sup>32</sup> The word *rum*, a slang word meaning "a poor country clergyman," appears frequently in Swift's poems. The dialect term *king-fisher*, meaning, according to the *English Dialect Dictionary*, "an excise man," occurs in Swift's letter to the Duke of Dorset.<sup>33</sup> Other dialect words appear occasionally in his correspondence with Sheridan and other Irish friends.

Swift's interest in the regional speech of England proper does not seem to have been as marked. In the essay *On Barbarous Denominations* he mentions disparagingly, but without giving illustrative examples, the "odd provincial cant in most counties of England." In *Polite Conversation* he introduces a Derbyshire knight, who is supposed to speak in dialect, but his only contribution in non-standard English to the conversation is the single sentence: *I'm weily brosten*,

<sup>30</sup> Some of these errors, like the use of *learn* for *teach*, *them* for *these*, and the error in agreement in the third sentence, were probably just as common in England as in Ireland. See Sterling A. Leonard, *The Doctrine of Correctness in English Usage, 1700-1800* (Madison, 1929), p. 178. The expression *what is gone with them* meaning "what is become of them," is described as a London "vulgarism" by Samuel Pegge, *Anecdotes of the English Language* (London, 1803), Chap. XVIII.

<sup>31</sup> Williams, ed., *Poems*, III, 843.

<sup>32</sup> Temple Scott, X, 216.

<sup>33</sup> *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, ed. J. Erlington Ball (London, 1910-1913), V, 295.

as they sayn in Lancashire. In general Swift's attitude toward dialect forms suggests the temper of his times, an impatience with irregular and non-standard forms. For a more sympathetic concern with dialect speech one must turn to the precursors of the Romantic revival later in the century.

The beginning of an interest in what might be called class dialect may be detected in some of Swift's remarks on language. Thus, in commenting on the vocabulary of Bishop Burnet's *History*, Swift disapproves vehemently of certain words and phrases because they are "used by the vulgar" and show the author "to have kept mean or illiterate company in his youth."<sup>34</sup> Swift objects in particular to such expressions as *outed*, *clapt up*, *a great beauty*, *left in the lurch*. The phrase *a run of success* is described as a metaphor "fit for a gamester." Swift's dislike of the word *banter* is also apparently due to its lowly origin. "This polite word," he says, "was first borrowed from the bullies in Whitefriars, then fell among the footmen, and at last is retired to the pedants."<sup>35</sup> Many of the expressions satirized in *Polite Conversation* undoubtedly belong here. In a note entered in his own copy of the *Miscellanies* Swift observes that the word *wished* in the line "the groom was wish'd to saddle Crop," which occurs in the poem *The Progress of Love* (1719), was intended to satirize a common "tradesman's phrase."<sup>36</sup> Another tradesman's phrase satirized is the expression *to the tune of*, as in the sentence *he lost to the tune of five hundred pounds*.<sup>37</sup> Objection to these words and phrases arose during the eighteenth century, as Leonard points out, from a sensitiveness to anything which has to do with trade or labor. It is reflected in Johnson's blanket condemnation thirty or forty years later of all "commercial terms" as exercising a corrupting influence on the language.<sup>38</sup>

Yet Swift was not a man to recoil at the presence of low or vulgar words and phrases. Lord Orrery observes that the "vulgar dialect"—the language of waggoners, hostlers, and others of humble rank—"was not only a fund of humor for Swift, but I verily believe was acceptable to his nature."<sup>39</sup> Corroborating evidence of Swift's interest in the vulgar tongue comes from Sheridan, who, in his poem *To the Dean of St. Patrick* (1724), gives a picture of Swift surrounded by a "tattered rabble" of peasants and laborers, enjoying

<sup>34</sup> Temple Scott, X, 329 ff.

<sup>35</sup> Davis, ed., *Prose Works*, I, 7.

<sup>36</sup> Williams, ed., *Poems*, I, 223, f. n.

<sup>37</sup> *The Tatler*, 230.

<sup>38</sup> Johnson, *Dictionary* (1755), I, Preface, p. 11. Johnson's use of labels of censure is treated in a recent University of Michigan dissertation by Dr. Harold B. Allen.

<sup>39</sup> Orrery, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

to a note of Sir Walter Scott, the dialogue was intended to represent Irish "blunders," and evoked a retaliatory piece by Sheridan representing English errors. Swift makes use of genuine Irish words like *spaulpeen*, "a rascal," *soogaun*, "a saddle made of straw," *fraughans*, "whortleberries," *to cosher*, "to live at free quarters on dependents or kinsmen," as well as provincialisms like *stirabout* and *staggard*. He indicates dialectal pronunciations by spelling *boddered* for *both-ered*, *bear* for *beer*, *cheney cups* for *china cups*. He uses constructions and expressions like *learn him better manners, without you saw him on Sunday, them apples is very good, I wonder what is gone with them*.<sup>30</sup> Another series of "dialect" forms occurs in the poem *A Ballad* (1737), attributed to Swift, and included in Mr. Williams' collection of the *Poems* with the precautionary note that the evidence for Swift's authorship is not entirely convincing.<sup>31</sup> This poem has a number of dialect words like *astore*, *arrah*, *lorsha*, pronunciations like *shteeple*, *jauntleman*, and constructions like *I saw'd him reading, who was it made this law, the bell she was ringing*.

Yet despite these strictures on dialect or pseudo-dialect forms, Swift himself lapses into dialect occasionally. Sir Walter Scott points out that Swift uses the word *cant* in his *History of England* in the dialect sense of "buying or selling by auction." "The two monks were outvying each other in canting the price on the abbey."<sup>32</sup> The word *rum*, a slang word meaning "a poor country clergyman," appears frequently in Swift's poems. The dialect term *king-fisher*, meaning, according to the *English Dialect Dictionary*, "an excise man," occurs in Swift's letter to the Duke of Dorset.<sup>33</sup> Other dialect words appear occasionally in his correspondence with Sheridan and other Irish friends.

Swift's interest in the regional speech of England proper does not seem to have been as marked. In the essay *On Barbarous Denominations* he mentions disparagingly, but without giving illustrative examples, the "odd provincial cant in most counties of England." In *Polite Conversation* he introduces a Derbyshire knight, who is supposed to speak in dialect, but his only contribution in non-standard English to the conversation is the single sentence: *I'm weily brosten*,

<sup>30</sup> Some of these errors, like the use of *learn* for *teach*, *them* for *these*, and the error in agreement in the third sentence, were probably just as common in England as in Ireland. See Sterling A. Leonard, *The Doctrine of Correctness in English Usage, 1700-1800* (Madison, 1929), p. 178. The expression *what is gone with them* meaning "what is become of them," is described as a London "vulgarism" by Samuel Pegge, *Anecdotes of the English Language* (London, 1803), Chap. XVIII.

<sup>31</sup> Williams, ed., *Poems*, III, 843.

<sup>32</sup> Temple Scott, X, 216.

<sup>33</sup> *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, ed. J. Erlington Ball (London, 1910-1913), V, 295.

as they sayn in Lancashire. In general Swift's attitude toward dialect forms suggests the temper of his times, an impatience with irregular and non-standard forms. For a more sympathetic concern with dialect speech one must turn to the precursors of the Romantic revival later in the century.

The beginning of an interest in what might be called class dialect may be detected in some of Swift's remarks on language. Thus, in commenting on the vocabulary of Bishop Burnet's *History*, Swift disapproves vehemently of certain words and phrases because they are "used by the vulgar" and show the author "to have kept mean or illiterate company in his youth."<sup>34</sup> Swift objects in particular to such expressions as *outed*, *clapt up*, *a great beauty*, *left in the lurch*. The phrase *a run of success* is described as a metaphor "fit for a gamester." Swift's dislike of the word *banter* is also apparently due to its lowly origin. "This polite word," he says, "was first borrowed from the bullies in Whitefriars, then fell among the footmen, and at last is retired to the pedants."<sup>35</sup> Many of the expressions satirized in *Polite Conversation* undoubtedly belong here. In a note entered in his own copy of the *Miscellanies* Swift observes that the word *wished* in the line "the groom was wish'd to saddle Crop," which occurs in the poem *The Progress of Love* (1719), was intended to satirize a common "tradesman's phrase."<sup>36</sup> Another tradesman's phrase satirized is the expression *to the tune of*, as in the sentence *he lost to the tune of five hundred pounds*.<sup>37</sup> Objection to these words and phrases arose during the eighteenth century, as Leonard points out, from a sensitiveness to anything which has to do with trade or labor. It is reflected in Johnson's blanket condemnation thirty or forty years later of all "commercial terms" as exercising a corrupting influence on the language.<sup>38</sup>

Yet Swift was not a man to recoil at the presence of low or vulgar words and phrases. Lord Orrery observes that the "vulgar dialect"—the language of waggoners, hostlers, and others of humble rank—"was not only a fund of humor for Swift, but I verily believe was acceptable to his nature."<sup>39</sup> Corroborating evidence of Swift's interest in the vulgar tongue comes from Sheridan, who, in his poem *To the Dean of St. Patrick* (1724), gives a picture of Swift surrounded by a "tattered rabble" of peasants and laborers, enjoying

<sup>34</sup> Temple Scott, X, 329 ff.

<sup>35</sup> Davis, ed., *Prose Works*, I, 7.

<sup>36</sup> Williams, ed., *Poems*, I, 223, f. n.

<sup>37</sup> *The Tatler*, 230.

<sup>38</sup> Johnson, *Dictionary* (1755), I, Preface, p. 11. Johnson's use of labels of censure is treated in a recent University of Michigan dissertation by Dr. Harold B. Allen.

<sup>39</sup> Orrery, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

their speech and attempting to imitate it.<sup>40</sup> An examination of Swift's intimate correspondence reveals that he was not at all averse to using the vulgar dialect himself. One can easily draw up lists of slang words and expressions—"tradesman's phrases" too, apparently—from the *Journal to Stella* alone. The word *plaguy*, for example, was certainly a low word in Swift's time, either an outright slang expression, or a mild "counter word." Swift satirizes its use, as Professor Wyld explains, in *Polite Conversation*.<sup>41</sup> Yet Swift himself uses the word thrice in a single letter to Stella: "I'll tell you something that's plaguy silly"; "he would be a plaguy trouble to me"; "I find I make plaguy mistakes in words."<sup>42</sup> Other colloquial and low expressions are illustrated in the following sentences culled at random from a few pages of the *Journal to Stella*: "I believe it [a certain pamphlet] will be a pepperer"; "Lord Strafford is as proud as hell"; "he shall have a squeeze extraordinary"; "it was bloody hot walking today"; "there are so many fiddling things to do"; "I am in for it"; "my being tosticated between here and Windsor."<sup>43</sup> Indeed, Swift's fondness for colloquial expressions contributes not a little to the racy and idiomatic quality of his style. The verb *to smoke* in the sense of "to find out, ascertain, guess" was not, strictly speaking, slang in Swift's day; but in the sense of "to make fun of, to jest at" it had already become a cant term. Swift uses the word in both senses in the *Journal to Stella*. The word *bite* meaning "a deception or imposition" is another recent slang word which appears frequently in Swift's correspondence despite the fact that it is ridiculed in the Introduction to *Polite Conversation*.<sup>44</sup> Even the word *banter*, Swift's special aversion, crops up occasionally in his letters. Swift's sensitiveness, however, to these words and phrases is an indication of a growing tendency toward stratification in language usages which characterized the eighteenth century.

We pass on now to some of Swift's personal lexical prejudices: one word which he disliked and against which he waged constant war is the word *behave*, used absolutely, without the reflexive. This usage was new in the eighteenth century, the earliest citation for it in the *New English Dictionary* being one dated 1719. "I was to sign a report of a committee at the Blue Coat Hospital just now," says

<sup>40</sup> Williams, ed., *Poems*, III, 1040.

<sup>41</sup> Wyld, *History of Modern Colloquial English*, p. 394.

<sup>42</sup> *Journal to Stella*, Letter X.

<sup>43</sup> The word *tosticated* is described as a London vulgarism by Pegge, *op. cit.*, p. 67, where he explains that it is the word *intoxicated*, modified for "meliority of sound."

<sup>44</sup> The first citation for *bite* in this sense in the *New English Dictionary* is a quotation from the *Spectator* under the date of 1711. It occurs, however, several years earlier in a letter of Swift's dated 1703, where it is actually described as a new word. See Ball, *Correspondence*, I, 40.

Swift in a letter to the Earl of Orrery, "but could not do it till the words *mob* and *behave* were altered to *rabble* and *behaved themselves*."<sup>45</sup> Swift's kinsman and biographer, Deane Swift, says that Swift could never endure to hear anyone say, "such a one behaved well." "*Behaved? behaved what?*" he used to ask with some kind of emotion. I remember his giving me an account of how he rebuked Lord Carteret for this, and my Lord promised him not to be guilty of the like for the future."<sup>46</sup> In these two instances Swift appears as the typical purist, conservative in outlook and authoritarian in temper. His prejudices, moreover, extended to older words and usages. He objected to the word *bowels*—"I hate the word *bowels*," he writes to Stella—not only because it was inelegant, but also apparently because of some unusual antipathy for anatomical terms, an antipathy seen more clearly in some of the poems and in *Gulliver's Travels*. For the same reason, probably, he disliked the phrase *others of that kidney*, which he criticizes in his essay in the *Tatler*, though the word occurs in the sense of "temperament, nature, kind, sort" as early as the sixteenth century, and is used by the very best authors in the seventeenth and eighteenth.<sup>47</sup>

Another of the most persistent of Swift's lexical prejudices concerned the use of contractions and clipped forms.<sup>48</sup> Swift explains his objections to the use of contractions in his essay in the *Tatler*. As a result, he says, of elision and abbreviation "consonants of almost obdurate sound are brought together without one softening vowel to intervene." But grounds of euphony did not constitute the sole reason for his objection. Another reason—and one which must have weighed heavily with him—was that he could find no parallel for the usage in the classical languages. "It is directly contrary," he says, "to the example of the Greeks and the Romans, altogether of the Gothic strain, and a natural tendency toward relapsing into barbarity, which delights in monosyllables . . . as is observable in all the Northern languages."<sup>49</sup>

Swift's objection to clipped forms like *mob*, *phiz*, *poz*, *plenipo*, *incog*, *hipps*, *rep*, *pet*, *waist*, *lim* was due to the fact that he regarded them as mutilations of complete words, which increased the number

<sup>45</sup> Ball, *Correspondence*, V, 239.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 436, f. n.

<sup>47</sup> The words *belly*, *guts* and a few other anatomical terms are likewise satirized in *Polite Conversation*.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. *Gulliver's Travels*, Book III, Chap. III. See also Ball, *Correspondence*, V, 162, 239, 435, and Williams, ed., *Poems*, III, 1020 ff.

<sup>49</sup> *The Tatler*, 230. Dr. Isaac Watts, *The Art of Reading and Writing English* (London, 1721) gives a qualified approval to the use of contractions such as *gi'mee* (give me), *gee't'er* (give it her), *gee'n some* (give him some), etc. Swift, *loc. cit.*, objects in particular to such forms as *cou'dn't*, *I'd ha'*, *g'imself* (give himself), *han't*, *upon't*, *shan't*, *can't*, etc.

of monosyllables in the language. The word *pet* he apparently believed to be a clipped form of *petty*. The slang term *lim* he disliked for the double reason that it represented a "curtailing" of *limbo*, and that it served as a cant term for "pawnshop." The word *put*, a slang term meaning "a stupid fellow, a blockhead," he likewise thought of as a clipped form of the Latin *putus*.<sup>50</sup> It is probably satirized in the names *Lilliput* and *Laputa*.<sup>51</sup>

Many of the words and phrases which Swift satirizes, however, appear in his prose and poetry, frequently without the least suggestion of satirical intent. Thus, despite his inveterate hostility to clipped forms and contractions, he does not hesitate to employ them himself in his letters to Stella, Ford, and Knightley Chetwode. He is certainly not averse, as we have already seen, to the use of low and dialectal words and phrases. Nor, for that matter, despite the ridicule he heaps on the verbal distortions of the "polite" gentry he so brilliantly lampoons, does he abate his partiality for his own "little language."

How then can one account for this contradiction between Swift's professed views on the English language and his own normal practice; between his insistence, on the one hand, on a high standard of polished expression and his obvious disregard of this standard on the other? It seems that what is involved here is a relatively early recognition of the existence of various levels of usage. Without actually defining these levels Swift is aware of their presence, and employs them on different occasions with varying effects in accordance with his needs. His less formal writings, his letters to Stella and other intimate friends, may be said to be on a colloquial—some even on a low colloquial—level. They abound with forms which Swift does not hesitate to condemn as improper. On the other hand, his formal compositions, his essays, treatises, and more carefully framed letters, are distinctly literary. The language is more "correct," vulgar and dialectal expressions are eschewed, there is even a greater conformity to traditional grammar. This practice of Swift's fits nicely into the pattern of his philosophy of words, summarized in one of his essays, as we shall presently see, as "proper words in proper places." It was left to Johnson, writing several decades later, to label these two levels the "cursory" and the "solemn" style, though his reference was only to pronunciation. This, it might be added, is

<sup>50</sup> The phrase *a country put*, which Swift objects to in the *Tatler* essay, is defined in the *Dictionary of the Canting Crew* (1700), as "a silly, shallow-pated fellow."

<sup>51</sup> Related to the lexical irregularities mentioned here are several others satirized in *Polite Conversation* and elsewhere: distortions like *your humble-cum-dumble*, formations like *moreish*, *journalish*, and malapropisms of various kinds.



as close as eighteenth-century writers came to recognizing differences of level in language usage.<sup>52</sup>

Two other aspects of Swift's concern with problems of vocabulary remain to be considered: his attitude toward neologisms and toward "learned" words.

Swift has a great deal to say on the subject of neologisms and lexical change. Generally speaking, he is not in favor of the uncontrolled admission of new words into the language, though he does not, like Pope, admit to a "religious abhorrence of innovation." Swift believes that it is better for a language to be "not wholly perfect" than to be "perpetually changing."<sup>53</sup> He objects particularly to slang, cant, and other "conceited words," whose chief claim to popularity is their novelty. In *Gulliver's Travels* he finds fault with the Sea-Yahoos because, like their kinsfolk the Land-Yahoos, they are "apt to become new-fangled in their Words," changing them from year to year. In the Voyage to Laputa he commiserates the Struldbruggs, whose language is always in such a state of flux that the men of one age cannot understand those of another. In the Introduction to *Polite Conversation* he tells of his plight one summer when, after acquiring a number of new words and making a considerable figure with them in the country, he found, upon returning to town in winter and attempting to use them again, that he was hooted by some and not understood by others. The source of these modernisms Swift traces to the court, the theatre, and the works of "current scribblers." These new words are insidious in their influence; their origin may well be "low," but they ultimately corrupt the tastes of "men of wit and learning."<sup>54</sup> Swift does not, however, object to new words which meet a real need in the language. "When I say," he explains in his *Proposal*, "that I would have our language after it is duly corrected always to the last, I do not mean that it should never be enlarged. Provided that no word which a society shall give sanction to be afterward antiquated and exploded, they may have liberty to receive whatever new ones they shall find occasion for."<sup>55</sup> Such a society might, moreover, restore to the language some older words, long since antiquated, which ought to be preserved because of "their energy and sound."

It is difficult to discover the real test that Swift would apply for the acceptance or rejection of words in the language, for he says clearly that custom and common use are not by themselves of sufficient authority in the matter. The persons who will be appointed to

<sup>52</sup> Leonard, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

<sup>53</sup> Temple Scott, XI, 15.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, XI, 11.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, XI, 16.

regulate the language, he says in the *Proposal*, will observe many improprieties in it, which, "however authorized by practice and grown familiar," ought to be discarded.<sup>56</sup> Apparently he would leave the decision entirely to the wisdom and good taste of the judges. The only principle clearly discernible is the negative one that no change be sanctioned which might lead to unintelligibility a century or two later.<sup>57</sup>

If we proceed now to consider Swift's own practice in the matter of lexical innovation, we shall find the same contradictions that we observed in other aspects of his attitude toward English. Despite all that he says in criticism of new words, he does not hesitate to employ them himself when he finds it necessary. We have already seen his readiness to employ recent slang words and expressions; he uses new words freely on other levels as well. Occasionally he even coins words, but his coinages are not many, and most of them are distinctly humorous. Such, for example, is the satirical creation *tritral*, a blend of *trite* and *critical*, the words *bombastry*, *grubean*, "relating to Grub Street," *whisperhood*, *triumfeminate*,<sup>58</sup> and the striking and useful names which come from *Gulliver's Travels*: *Lilliput*, *Yahoo*, *Houyhnhnm*, and *Brobdingnag*.

A number of words for which Swift is credited with a first citation in the *New English Dictionary* are common colloquial terms. Among them are the compounds *speech-maker*, *good-for-nothing*, *under-rate*, and *counter-spell*. The word *hedge-writer* he acknowledges as his own—"it cost me some pain to invent," he says.<sup>59</sup> The phrase *to cut* (or *make*) *a flaming figure*, is also apparently first found in Swift. Among the more learned words the first occurrence of which in literature is similarly attributed to Swift are *modernism*, *truism*, *visionary* in the sense of "one given to fanciful and impractical views," *desiderium*, *testimonium*, *oraculum*, *observandum*, *aeolist*, "a pretender to inspiration," *cephalgic*, "pertaining to a headache," *clinamen*, "an inclination or bias," *debellator*, "a subduer or vanquisher," and *eludible*.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Temple Scott, XI, 17.

<sup>57</sup> The fear that the language might not be understood a century or two later—a natural one in view of the lack of authoritative dictionaries and grammars—is also expressed by other eighteenth-century writers. Cf. Pope, *Essay on Criticism*, lines 466 ff. "For such as Chaucer is shall Dryden be."

<sup>58</sup> The earliest citation for *triumfeminate* in the *NED* is one dated 1873. The word occurs, however, in a letter of Swift's to Pope, dated 1729. See Ball, *Correspondence*, IV, 121.

<sup>59</sup> Temple Scott, V, 49. Other *hedge-* compounds occurring in Swift are *hedge-acquaintance*, *hedge-alehouse*, *hedge-attorney*, *hedge-chapters*, *hedge-friend*, *hedge-lawyer*, *hedge-lodging*, *hedge-parson*, *hedge-poet*, *hedge-press*, *hedge-printers*.

<sup>60</sup> The files of the *Early Modern English Dictionary*, which have been consulted, show no earlier citations for these words.

On the question of learned words versus popular, Swift's attitude is entirely realistic. In the *Letter to a Young Clergyman* he sums up what one might call his philosophy of words with a phrase adapted from Quintilian. The true definition of style, he says, is "proper words in proper places." Swift makes no attempt to explain in detail his criterion or measure for determining propriety, but he does point out one instance of the lack of it: the use by the younger members of the clergy of learned and obscure terms—"which by the women are called Hard Words, and by the better sort of Vulgar, Fine Language."<sup>61</sup> In an earlier tract Swift had already glanced in the direction of these "theological polysyllables,"<sup>62</sup> but he has more to say about them in this essay. "I defy the greatest Divine," he says in an oft quoted passage, "to produce any law either of God or Man which obliges me to comprehend the meaning of *Omniscience, Omnipresence, Ubiquity, Attribute, Beatifick Vision*, with a thousand others so frequent in our Pulpits, any more than that of *Excentrick, Idiosyncrasy, Entity*, and the like."<sup>63</sup> The objection to these words was undoubtedly theological as well as lexical, a satiric thrust at those who would penetrate the mysteries of religion, but the reference to the last three words indicates that Swift was reaching beyond that point. The remedy for this fault, he says, is the practice employed by Lord Falkland, who, when in doubt as to the intelligibility of a word, used to consult his Lady's chambermaid. Something like this, indeed, seems to have been Swift's own practice. Faulkner, Swift's Irish printer, tells how, when revising the proof-sheets of an edition of his works, Swift used to have the proofs read in the presence of two of his men-servants, "which, if they did not comprehend, he would alter and amend, until they understood it perfectly well, and then would say, 'This will do; for I write to the Vulgar, more than to the Learned.'"<sup>64</sup>

This protest against the use of "hard words and dark expressions" is not novel with Swift. It appears frequently in other con-

<sup>61</sup> Temple Scott, III, 201.

<sup>62</sup> *Discourse Concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit* (1710), in Davis, *Prose Works*, I, 182.

<sup>63</sup> Temple Scott, III, 202. Cf. also *Irish Intelligencer*, No. IX. Another list of "hard words" similarly criticized, consisting largely of military terms, is given in the *Tatler* essay: *circumvallation, battalions, palisadoes, operations, communication, ambassadors, preliminaries, and speculation*. Most of these words, however, occur in Swift's own writings. What Swift objected to was not the use of these words, but their misuse by ignorant or injudicious speakers.

<sup>64</sup> *Gulliver's Travels*, ed. Harold Williams (London, 1926), p. xiv. That Swift took this matter of word difficulty seriously appears also from the statement of Lord Orrery that Swift had at one time compiled a dictionary of hard words for the use of the feminine members of his circle. Cf. Orrery, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

temporary literature. It is the last echo of the war against inkhorn terms, the subject of so much controversy a century earlier, as it is also a manifestation of a positive trend toward simplicity in diction, which characterized generally the better pulpit oratory and prose of the eighteenth century.<sup>65</sup>

Swift's opinion on one final aspect of vocabulary remains to be noticed. On various occasions, both in his essays and letters, Swift deplores the monosyllabic character of English. In the *Proposal* he blames specifically the poets of the Restoration for spoiling the language, "already overstocked with monosyllables," by introducing many new ones through the use of contractions and elisions. On the other hand, in the very same essay he expresses a great deal of admiration for the style of the Book of Common Prayer and the Bible, both of which are certainly highly monosyllabic. As for Swift himself, a preference for short words might be inferred from his criticism of "fine language" in the *Letter to a Young Clergyman* and from his insistence that he wrote—his popular treatises, at any rate—only for the "vulgar." A reading of *Gulliver's Travels* actually shows a very large proportion of monosyllables. Out of 1500 words examined in a passage chosen at random, counting every word every time it occurred and omitting only names and foreign terms, no less than 1100 were found to be monosyllables. The same proportion, apparently, holds in his political tracts and popular essays. But the contradiction implied here is more apparent than real, for what Swift really proposed was not the elimination of old monosyllables already in good standing in the language, but the exclusion of newly created ones.

To sum up: Swift is an important figure in the movement for regularity, order, and "correctness," which characterizes the eighteenth century. His attitude is best seen in his pronouncements on provincialism, dialect forms, and "unauthorized" innovations in word and usage. On the other hand, his preference for simplicity in diction and style, and his attitude toward recent borrowings suggest the temper of a later period. Finally, his utilization of the differences in language levels indicates an awareness of the processes of linguistic stratification.

*Brooklyn College*

<sup>65</sup> Cf. *The Spectator*, 165, and Richard F. Jones, "The Attack on Pulpit Eloquence," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XXX, 188.

## THE TRADITIONAL BACKGROUND OF SHELLEY'S IVY-SYMBOL

By CARLOS BAKER

Shelley employs the word *ivy* or its derivatives on twenty-six occasions. Generally he refers merely to the climbing plant *Hedera helix*, but in eight passages he appears, whether consciously or not, to be using the word symbolically, attaching to it ulterior erotic meanings whose significance it is the purpose of this paper to elucidate.

His wide reading in classical authors must certainly have apprised Shelley of the traditional connection between ivy and Bacchus. The plant is sacred to Bacchus because it was once partly responsible for saving his life. "*Hedera est grattissima Baccho*," says Ovid (*Fasti*, III, 767-770), adding that Bacchus' jealous stepmother Hera sought to destroy the son of Zeus, an intention which Zeus thwarted by causing the nymphs of Nysa to conceal his son in a cave screened with ivy. The seventh of the Homeric Hymns relates the capture of Dionysus by pirates, and how a dark ivy-plant presently grew up around the ship's mast. The twenty-sixth Hymn invokes "ivy-crowned Dionysus," tells of his upbringing by the nymphs of Nysa, and of his wandering through woody dells, "thickly wreathed in ivy and laurel," while the nymphs followed him as leader. Pausanias (I.31.6) mentions an Attican town where the deity was known as Dionysus Ivy, and notes the existence of an Arcadian temple where the Bacchic image was screened in ivy from the waist down (VIII. 39.6). Lucian begins his account of Dionysus with a reference to the god's female followers—"crazy women wreathed with ivy"—and records that the Machlaean Indians held Dionysia in a grove "completely sheltered . . . [with] rank ivy." Natalis Comes gathers into thirty pages of his *Mythologiae* (Book V) a good part of this information, besides much more which is here irrelevant. These traditions would account for the frequent use of ivy-crowns and ivy-aprons in descriptions of Bacchus or his votaries.

Spenser is of course aware of the tradition. In the October eclogue, Cuddie wishes to be a Bacchanal, drunk with wine and crowned with ivy (*S. C., Oct.*, 111), and E. K.'s gloss is explicit—wild ivy is "dedicated to Bacchus." Elsewhere ivy fittingly ornaments a wine-bowl (*S. C., Aug.*, 30), while in the *Faerie Queene* (I.iv.22.3) that disgustingly sudatory wine-topper, Gluttony, wears a crown of ivy.

Shelley's only use of ivy in this connection occurs in his self-portrait (*Adonais*, xxxiii, line 4), where he represents himself as carrying a light spear "round whose rude shaft dark ivy-tresses grew," as ivy decorated the thyrsi of Bacchus' followers.

But there is another use of the ivy-symbol for which I do not find explicit classical authority. By the Renaissance, if not before, the accepted use of Bacchus' name as a metonymy for self-indulgence made easy the wider application of the ivy-symbol to include desire in its more fleshly aspects. The ill-repute of the Dionysiac revels was doubtless partly responsible for this tendency. Although he does not mention ivy in connection with them, Diodorus Siculus comments (I.22.3-7) on the phallic worship of Osiris (Dionysus) at certain of the revels, while scholarly accounts of the later urban Dionysia are studded with references to the obscene practices of the drunken celebrants.

To Francis Bacon, at any rate, the equation of Dionysus, lust, and the ivy-plant seems thoroughly natural. "Under the person of Bacchus," he says, "is described the nature of Desire, or passion, and perturbation." The ivy is Bacchus' "sacred tree" because "the ruling passion coils itself (*circumsepit*) like ivy around all human actions and resolutions."<sup>1</sup>

Like Bacon, Spenser equates the ivy-symbol with *libido*.<sup>2</sup> In the following examples it will be seen that the metonymical transference is complete. Ivy remains as a symbol of sensuousness, despite the fact that Bacchus' name has dropped from the equation.<sup>3</sup> Archi-

<sup>1</sup> Bacon, *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, lib. II, cap. xii, "Arbor ei sacra erat hedera. . . . Describitur autem sub persona Bacchi natura Cupiditatis, sive affectuum et perturbationum animi. . . . Neque mysterio caret, quod hedera Baccho sacra fuerit. . . . Affectus aliquis in humana anima praedominans omnes eius actiones et decreta tanquam hedera circumsepit." There is much more to the same effect. See *Works*, ed. Spedding, Ellis, Heath (London, 1870), I, 535-538. Shelley had read the *De Augmentis*. His copy of the *Works* is now at the University of Texas, and according to Professor D. L. Clark, Shelley seems to have read "attentively" the volume containing *De Augmentis*. See *PMLA*, XLVIII (1933), 527-546.

<sup>2</sup> On Spenser's acquaintance with the symbolic attributes of Bacchus, see Charles W. Lemmi, "Symbolism in *Faerie Queene*, II, 12," *MLN*, L (1935), 163-164. Professor Lemmi believes that Spenser understood perfectly the symbolism of the "wanton ivy" which hangs from the column in the center of Acrasia's fountain. "Ivy is the plant of Bacchus," he writes, "and Bacchus, identified with the sun, was familiar to the Stoics, to Plutarch, to the Neo-Platonists, as the embodiment of the masculine principle in nature. Water stood for the feminine principle. Comes interprets both in this sense at some length" (cf. *Mythologiae* [Venice, 1581], X, 685).

<sup>3</sup> The transference was doubtless facilitated by the parasitic habits of the plant. As she embraces the clown (*MSND*, IV, i, 48), Titania compares herself to the "female ivy" which thus "enrings the barked fingers of the Elme." This may show Shakespeare's acquaintance with the tradition, or may indicate merely that he had made a natural observation, as in Spenser's "pallid Yvie building his own bowre" (*Virgils Gnat*, 675). Beyond this isolated instance,

mago charms the Redcross Knight into an erotic dream in which Una appears to him as a voluptuary crowned with ivy and bent on seduction (*F.Q.*, I.i.48.9).<sup>4</sup> "Wanton Yvie, flourishing faire" framed the bower in which Atin found Cymochles disporting himself "amongst loose ladies and lascivious boyes" (*F.Q.*, II.v.29). When Guyon reached the fountain in the Bower of Bliss, he discovered that it was overspread with a trail of ivy whose "lascivious armes adown did creepe" to steep themselves wantonly in the silver dew (*F.Q.*, II.xii.61). And in the very midst of the Mount of Venus in the Garden of Adonis (*F.Q.*, III.vi.44) stood a grove of trees

Which knitting their rancke braunches part to part  
With wanton yvie twyne entrayld athwart  
And eglantine and caprifole emong

Fashioned above within their inmost part,  
That neither Phoebus beams could through them throng  
Nor Aeolus sharp blast could worke them any wrong.

Shelley's review of Peacock's *Rhododaphne* leaves no doubt of his acquaintance with Spenser's Bower of Bliss. "The last canto [of Peacock's poem] relates the enjoyments and occupations of the lovers," says Shelley, "and we are astonished to discover that anything can be added to the gardens of Armida and Alcina and the Bower of Bliss."<sup>5</sup>

It is no surprise, therefore, to find that Shelley (whether consciously or not) employs the ivy-symbol in the very specialized connection which Spenser had in mind in the passages quoted above. When Shelley describes a love-scene in one of his sylvan Edens, we are likely to encounter twining ivy. Laon and Cythna spend a nuptial night under a "moonproof" canopy of ivy (*Revolt of Islam*,

Shakespeare does nothing with the ivy-symbol as such. Neither does Milton, although he mentions "ivy-crowned Bacchus" in *L'Allegro*. The *N. E. D.* lists an interesting instance of a correlative metonymy: ivy was used on inn signs as early as 1436 to indicate that wine was available within. We may notice also the opinion of one of Spenser's editors, H. M. Percival, that the ivy-leaves around Sylvanus' waist (*F. Q.*, I.vi.14) typify "the sensuousness of youth." See Spenser Variorum, I, 242.

<sup>4</sup> Flora does the crowning. E. K.'s gloss to the March eclogue of the *Shep. Cal.* records a legend that Flora was a famous harlot who left her money to the Roman people, in return for which magnanimity they made her the goddess of flowers and held an annual feast in her honor. Renwick's edition of the poem (London, 1930), p. 189, locates the tale in Boccaccio, *Gen. Deorum* (IV, lxi), where it is copied from Lactantius, *De Falsa Religione*, 20.

<sup>5</sup> *Prose Works* (Julian edition), VI, 275. Peacock's erudite notes to the poem include one which states (Canto II, 176) that the fir and ivy were sacred to Bacchus. In Canto VII, Anthemion's enchantress, equipped with ivy-bound thyrsus, performs a Bacchic dance. When he read Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* in 1815, Shelley may have noticed that ivy figures, though not prominently, in the description of Armida's island (XV.xliii.3-4).



VI, xxvii) during a brief lull in their strenuous lives. As Asia, goddess of Love and Nature, passes through the forest to Demogorgon's realm on the errand which will result in her reunion with Prometheus, the voluptuous nightingales, "sick with sweet love," interchange melodies under "windless ivy-boughs" (*Prom. Unbound*, II.ii.24-39). "Dark linked ivy tangled wild" adorns the vale and the cavern where Prometheus and Asia are to live in joy uninterrupted (*Prom. Unbound*, III.iii.136). The island home to which Shelley proposes to voyage with Emilia is roofed with tangled foliage where

The ivy and the wild-vine interknit  
The volumes of their many-twining stems.  
(*Epps*. 500-501.)

Here also (529) the ring-dove makes her love-lament in the "em-bowering ivy" and caverns, bowers, and halls are "built round with ivy" (441-442). During her peregrinations the Witch of Atlas sees two sleeping lovers

linked innocently  
In their loose locks which over both did creep  
like ivy from one stem. (lxi, 7.)

The prominence of ivy in the most erotic episodes in the poetry of Spenser and Shelley lends credence to the view that Shelley derives his symbol in this particularized application from the *Faerie Queene*. But whether or not we admit the possibility of a conscious or an unconscious borrowing, it is certain that ivy canopies, safe from intrusion and even light-proof like the bower in Spenser's Garden of Adonis, were almost invariably coincident in Shelley's mind with erotic episodes. And it is equally certain that in so employing ivy, Shelley was following a tradition of some years' standing.\*

#### *Princeton University*

\* On five occasions in *Endymion* Keats uses ivy in apparent consciousness of the tradition. We read (IV, 210) of Bacchus' *ivy-dart* (cf. Shelley's ivy-wreathed spear in *Adonais*) and of his *ivy-tent* (IV, 240). Ivy-banks are prominent in the demesnes of Pan (I, 81). Adonis slumbers beneath a roof of *ivy-mesh* (II, 412). And finally (IV, 670-677) the lover tells his mistress of a bower

under the brow  
Of some steep mossy hill, where ivy dun  
Would hide us up, although spring leaves were none . . .  
O thou wouldst joy to live in such a place;  
Dusk for our loves, yet light enough to grace  
Those gentle limbs on mossy bed reclin'd.

These lines could have been introduced without difficulty into Shelley's *Epipsychidion*.

## JOHANNES A LAPIDE AND SEBASTIAN BRANT

By EDWIN H. ZEYDEL

In 1475 Sebastian Brant, then seventeen years of age, left his native Strassburg to matriculate in the "Artistenfakultät" of the recently founded progressive University of Basel, then still located in the German Reich. Basel, already famous as the seat of the Great Council, was an important center of the young humanistic movement, and its university was the only German institution then offering not only canonical but also civil law, the latter taught by Italian professors. Two years later Brant transferred to the faculty of law.

One of the first and most important friends young Brant made in Basel was Johannes Heynlin von Stein, called a Lapide, a staunch advocate of a new form of realism. A Lapide, a Swabian by birth, had gone to Paris early in life. In 1464 he left Paris for Basel, but soon after returned to the French capital and taught at the University, becoming rector in 1469. In 1474 he was back in Basel, not as a professor but as a preacher and intellectual leader. He retired in 1487 to the Carthusian monastery in Basel and died there in 1496.<sup>1</sup> In was probably through a Lapide's influence that Brant became associated with various publishing enterprises in Basel.

A Lapide and his circle, which besides Brant included the Strassburg preacher Johann Geiler von Kaisersberg, Wimpfeling, Agricola, and Trithem, soon found themselves engaged in a bitter scholastic-theological quarrel with the well-entrenched Nominalists. This quarrel, which was largely a battle against windmills, continued in Basel for twenty years. Although settling no philosophical problems, it throws some light upon the intellectual temper of the time. In a Lapide's day the Nominalists, broadly speaking, represented liberalism in philosophy and were inclined to frown upon what seemed to them abuses in the Roman Catholic Church; the Realists were the conservatives, who, among other things, believed in traditional authority, in the moral values of literature and, like the Franciscans, in the doctrine of immaculate conception. But both parties were loyal to the Pope.

<sup>1</sup> A biography of a Lapide would be highly welcome. The best available material on him is found in W. Vischer, *Geschichte der Universität Basel von 1460-1529* (Basel, 1860). Cf. also the introduction of Friedrich Zarncke's edition of the *Narrenschiff* (Leipzig, 1854), and Charles Schmidt, *Histoire littéraire de l'Alsace à la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> et au commencement du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1879), vol. I.

The Realist-Nominalist controversy, in a very limited sense giving indication of more serious and more significant theological disputes to follow, was felt in most of the western continent north of the Alps. In Basel it practically split the university in two. In Prague it led to the ousting of the German students from the university. It was taken up even in Oxford, where the two already existing factions of Boreales and Australes carried on the logomachy. There, to be sure, Realism went a step further and developed opposition to the papacy and the Catholic hierarchy.

But already at this time there were distinct signs of a crossing of Nominalist-Realist lines and an intellectual linking of the whole South, or Upper German region, with centers in Basel, Tübingen, Freiburg, Heidelberg, and Strassburg. Evidence of this is found in the intercourse of leaders like Wessel (a forerunner of Luther), a Lapide, Geiler, Reuchlin at Tübingen (a Nominalist), and Brant. Brant well typifies the compromise which was taking place. He was closely associated with the Realist a Lapide yet also considered the Nominalist Reuchlin his friend. Later he edited and published the Nominalist records of the Basel city council. But he subscribed to the Realists' attitude toward immaculate conception, although like the Nominalists he was a mild critic of ecclesiastical abuses.

These new Realists were actually the inheritors of the earlier Nominalists. They were ardently pro-Catholic but not militant; rather were they irenic, sentimental, and even wistful in their contemplation of calmer days behind and stormy times ahead. In an age of absolutistic papism they assumed an air of resignation, remaining reticent and timid and eschewing vital theological questions. They confined themselves almost wholly to matters of morality. Geiler was the stern ascetic, Brant the admonisher against bad natural impulses, Wimpfeling the critic of the worldly priests, and Trithem the advocate of a regenerated monasticism. Unlike von Heimburg, Wessel, and von Wesel, then, they should not be termed forerunners of such men as Luther, Hutten, Zwingli, and Calvin, but mild and innocuous would-be reformers from within. Their rôle was not so lustrous as that of the revolutionists, but preachers, like themselves, of reform by evolution always deserve honorable mention even when they do not read the times aright.

Several passages in Brant's *Narrenschiff*, written seven years after a Lapide took Carthusian vows and two years before he died, seem to refer unequivocally to a Lapide and have not been adequately stressed as such by critics of Brant. They must be read in the light of the criticisms directed against a Lapide by contemporaries (especially Junker Brandolf von Stein) because of his de-

cision to renounce the world and join the silent monks.<sup>2</sup> The first of these references occurs in Chapter 41, "Nit achten uff all red," lines 5-12:

Dar umb jnn grossem lob die ston,  
Die sich der welt hant ab gethon  
Und synd durch gangen berg und tal,  
Das die die welt nit brächt zu fal,  
Und sie villicht verschuldten sich,  
Doch loszt die welt sie nit on stich,  
Wie wol sie nit verdienen kan,  
Das sie solch lüt sol by ir han.<sup>3</sup>

In Chapter 105, "Hyndernys des gutten," Brant alludes even more palpably to a Lapide. Lines 17-28 (Schultz ed., p. 287):

Wann man sicht eyne, der do will  
Recht dun und syn jnn wiszhyt styl,  
So spricht man: Schow den duckelmuser,  
Er will alleyn syn eyn Carthuser  
Und tribt eyn apostützer stodt.  
Er will verzweiflen gantz an gott.  
Wir went eben als wol erwerben,  
Das gott uns loszt jnn gnaden sterben  
Als er, wann er schon tag und nacht  
Lyt uff den knuwen bät und wacht.  
Er will vasten und zällen buwen,  
Er gdar weder got noch der welt truwe.

Notable especially in the second line of this quotation is the phrase "jnn wiszhyt styl." Again, lines 43-46:

Solt, wie er dut, dun yederman  
In der Chartusz die kutten an,  
Wer woltt die welt dann fürbas meren,  
Wer woltt die lüt wysen und leren?

And, finally, lines 61-64:

Wann ich zwo selen hett jnn mir,  
Setzt ich lycht eyne den gsellen für,  
Aber so ich hab eyn alleyn,  
So musz ich sorg han umb die eyne.

The last passage is especially significant in the light of what Vischer (*loc. cit.*) reports as a Lapide's retort to Brandolf von Stein: "wann er zwo seelen hätte, wollte er gnug die eine an gut

<sup>2</sup> See Vischer, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

<sup>3</sup> We quote from the facsimile edition of the *editio princeps* by Franz Schultz (Strassburg, 1913), p. 103.

Gesellen gewagt han." One of Brant's Latin poems in the *Carmina Varia* deals with the same form of hypocritical ridicule of asceticism. Perhaps in one of his frequent moments of despair Brant himself toyed with the idea of following in a Lapide's footsteps.

*University of Cincinnati*

## AMERICA IN THE WORKS OF GERSTÄCKER

By A. J. PRAHL

The number of German books which were written about the United States in the Nineteenth Century is quite large, and many of them are voluminous. They could be divided into two groups. There are the books written by scientists, which in most cases represent a serious study of certain phases of American life and therefore are quite reliable. In addition, we have the second and larger group produced by literary men; and it is this class which, upon closer scrutiny, will soon convey to the reader the impression that many of the observations upon which the authors base their picture of the social, political, and cultural conditions of the United States are superficial.

We have the picture of America as presented by the romanticists, many of whom took neither the time nor the trouble to come here in order to convince themselves of what was to be found in the United States, but instead pictured America as the "Promised Land" of unlimited possibilities. On the other hand, we have the literary products of men who were members or at least followers of the Young Germany Movement and who spoke of the political and social liberalism of America merely for the purpose of advocating their own convictions along such lines. More recently economic propagandists believed themselves justified in attacking the United States as the land of unlimited capitalism. To these should be added the many pamphlets which, particularly in the first half of the past century, served the purpose of attracting many Germans to the United States where they could be used for the selfish purposes of certain classes. Very seldom do we get in all these numerous books a correct and unbiased picture of America.

The two writers who occupy a special place in German Literature with regard to the United States are Charles Sealsfield and Friedrich Gerstäcker. Much has been written about Sealsfield, and his relations to America have been clearly defined by competent scholars. A great vagueness, however, surrounds Gerstäcker's attitude with regard to America. Most histories of German literature will hardly deem it necessary to say anything on the subject even if their evaluation of the character and the writings of Gerstäcker is in general correct. Others will make such one-sided and misleading statements as: "[Gerstäcker] traveled far and collected materials for such stories as *The Regulators of Arkansas* and *Lights and Shades of Trans-*

*atlantic Life*. The shadows are indeed dark enough as given by Gerstäcker."<sup>1</sup>

In the present article the attempt is made to present the picture of America as the reader of Gerstäcker's works will encounter it in his numerous volumes.

The basic traits of Gerstäcker's personality as they are revealed to us by his contemporaries and critics are the simplicity of his tastes and habits, his matter-of-factness, his love for the outdoors, his joy in an unrestrained life, his admiration for personal and national freedom, and, above all, his realistic outlook. These are the rocks upon which is built his picture of America, a picture of a land unburdened by a long history and unhindered by outworn and artificial social concepts. Lacking a philosophical mind, Gerstäcker carefully limits himself to scenes and objects which he actually saw with his own eyes. He confines himself to the description of a life which he not only had coolly observed but which he himself had lived, for circumstances compelled him to make his acquaintance with America not as a leisurely traveler but as an earner of his own livelihood.

His viewpoint is the same throughout his work and is not subject to whims and moods. Gerstäcker's conception of America is of a two-fold nature. It reveals itself in works which deal with situations and happenings in America, or it is portrayed in books which had as their sole purpose the aim of advising people who wished to make America their new home and were anxious to gain an accurate picture of conditions there. We shall begin with the latter approach.

Large numbers of Germans came to the United States about the middle of the past century. Gerstäcker knew well what charm the word "America" exercised over many people: "'To America!' calls daringly and lightly the madcap, 'To America!' whispers the desperate one, 'To America!' says quietly the determined poor man, 'To America!' laughs the criminal, 'To America!' joyfully shouts the idealist, 'To America!'—in those two words lie the hopes of so many men."<sup>2</sup>

In Gerstäcker's opinion these people needed proper instruction and, deeply interested in the welfare of his countrymen, he set out to give sound counsel. He knew from personal experience what great misery could arise from exaggerated descriptions of America, descriptions in which everything was presented in the rosiest colors, in which dollars could be picked from the trees. The result of the dis-

<sup>1</sup> Costwick and Harrison, *Outlines of German Literature* (London: Williams and Northgate, 1873), p. 533.

<sup>2</sup> Friedrich Gerstäcker, *Ausgewählte Werke* (Zweite Volks- und Familien-Ausgabe von Dietrich Theden; Jena: Hermann Costenoble, 1887-1890), Series I, Vol. V, p. 6. If not otherwise stated, all quotations are from this edition, the numbers referring to series, volume, and pages respectively.



appointments which must naturally follow was usually that everything would appear in the gloomiest light, all hope was buried, and utter despair seized the greenhorn. Even the good sides were overlooked by such suddenly awakened people, who "had overloaded their heads with the content of romantic writings in Germany and had picked out of all the books they had read only that which appealed most to their imagination and to their desires."<sup>3</sup>

This last quotation is taken from one of his first books, of which the full title is: *Wie ist es denn nun eigentlich in Amerika? Eine kurze Schilderung dessen, was der Auswanderer in Nordamerika zu thun und dafür zu hoffen und zu erwarten hat*. The title very clearly defines the purpose of the book. It is the condensation of all his experiences in America. It is written in a very simple style for the common man and shows Gerstäcker in the capacity of instructor and adviser. It is full of counsel and admonitions, and the reader cannot doubt the sincerity with which these "pointers" were put on paper. Gerstäcker himself called it "Pointers for German Emigrants."

Let us consider the picture of America which opens before our eyes in his work. It is the picture of the thirties and early forties of the Nineteenth Century in America. At the very beginning Gerstäcker calls most earnest attention to the fact that America is not an idealistic country, but an "extremely materialistic, extraordinarily practical" country, and he recommends it to those who are willing and capable "of beginning with hoe and spade and will spare themselves no trouble." He therefore emphasizes physical health and prowess as prerequisites for a successful career in the New World. What was so characteristic of Gerstäcker himself was that he expected all emigrants "to be able to face facts" (mit beiden Füßen in die Wirklichkeit springen). He adds immediately: "I am convinced that such people will come to love their new fatherland and become strong in body and soul" (*ibid.*, p. iv).

With what hopes may the foreigner land at the new shore? In answer to this question we read: "The expectations should be as moderate as possible and if they are then later exceeded, all the better; or if even those moderate wishes are not fulfilled immediately, all the less the disappointment" (*ibid.*, p. 6).

It is not pessimism which dictates such statements to the pen of Gerstäcker. It is a cautious and restrained approach to safeguard against dire disappointments which will cause people to see things in an even darker light than they reflect. The first hardships and deprivations must be borne courageously; otherwise "they make them-

<sup>3</sup> *Wie ist es denn nun eigentlich in Amerika?* (Leipzig: G. Wigand, 1849), p. 104.

selves and their entire environment unhappy with their eternal growling and scolding, and it is this type of people who unjustly slander and revile the country and its inhabitants and loudly long for their native land" (*ibid.*). And Gerstäcker states again and again: "America is a land of work and diligence, and whoever believes that he has only to cross the ocean in order to make his fortune is barking up the wrong tree!" (*ibid.*, p. 7).

These introductory disappointments are looked upon by Gerstäcker as being very natural. From his own experience he knew that a certain fee has to be paid, that certain sacrifices must be made and "he who does not pay for this experience in money will have to pay his share with hard labor." Again it must be emphasized that it is not pessimism which is expressed by Gerstäcker in this book. It is a realistic approach to matters which the newcomer can overcome only with diligence and courage, the natural conclusion from the statement that America is a "practical and materialistic country." With courageous tenacity "the diligent person will always find a sphere of activity. What cannot be taken for granted in Europe is an undebatable birthright for everyone in America: No one needs to be ashamed of work. No one in America is limited to the narrow sphere in which he finds himself either by the will of his parents, or by birth, or by events in his youth" (*ibid.*, p. 8).

Here we shall leave this book which in its various chapters deals with agricultural matters and is full of answers to questions which might be asked by immigrants. Nevertheless, we shall repeatedly refer to it in the latter part of this article.

The American picture painted by Gerstäcker is practically limited to the Middle West. It is there that Gerstäcker lived for the greater part of his stay in the United States, and it was the part of the country which he knew and liked best. Even in the titles of his books the locality finds its restrictions; for example, *The River Pirates of the Mississippi*, *The Regulators in Arkansas*, *Mississippi Sketches*, or *Hunting Expeditions through the United States of North America*. The first two have the subtitle *About the Forest Life of America*. It is in these regions, covered by forests and reached by rivers, that Gerstäcker finds the type of human beings who are filled with the spirit of freedom and animated by love of nature, a people living according to primitive impulses and unspoiled by civilization, a race dear to Gerstäcker's whole being. It is in the descriptions of these parts of the American landscape that his style takes on an enthusiastic swing.

Not much space is given in Gerstäcker's works to the description of city life. In dealing with it his attitude is one greatly at variance with formal civilization. It held no attraction for him, and we shall

see that all the bad features of American life are connected with it. Here he finds the confining atmosphere which made his stay in the old country so burdensome and annoying. Everything is overshadowed by a "business spirit," by selfishness, by greed. His treatment of business might be tinged by his own bad experience in New York. We read in his own words:

The East was of no interest to him. He had not come to America in order to seek culture. He cared only to become acquainted with the less civilized parts; he sought to find that America which he had pictured to himself and which he could not find in Cincinnati or any other city where culture had progressed to such a degree that only the completion of the railroad lines was necessary in order to call it perfect (I, VI, 176).

And: "Life itself in the cities consists of nothing but business transactions; and the foreigner who settles in any American town and, unfortunately, is not interested in business or politics, is ostracized in social matters."<sup>4</sup>

Gerstacker thinks that the real personification of the "business spirit" (*Geschftsgeist*) is the "Yankee," whom he describes in the following passage: "The Yankee is generally a lanky, carefully dressed and clean-shaven figure, with slicked-down hair, gray vivid eyes, somewhat protruding cheekbones, and somewhat distorted features which, however, in most cases are caused by a piece of chewing tobacco resting peacefully against the left cheek" (I, X, 196). Chewing tobacco fills Gerstacker's heart with utter disgust.

The mental alertness with which—as we shall see—Gerstacker credits the "Hinterwlder" loses its elasticity when dealing with the Yankee. "The backwoodsmen are otherwise so subtle and agile, in business as well as in every other way of life. In the hands of a Yankee, however, it is as if their innate energy and intellectual powers are lost" (I, X, 196).

Another point which finds severe criticism in Gerstacker's works is the situation with regard to the newspapers, particularly the German-American newspapers. Again personal experiences may have affected his point of view. He regrets the fact that articles are copied from other papers without the slightest benefit to the author. Likewise the political attitude of the newspapers is of a dubious nature and entirely controlled by financial considerations. Of the editor of the German newspaper *Biene* he says: "A Democrat according to principles, but not always according to practice" (I, VI, 112).

---

<sup>4</sup> *Wie ist es denn nun eigentlich in Amerika?*, p. 44.

The third point which Gerstäcker criticizes in many of his books is the large number of religious organizations he found in the United States. The eccentric behavior of many of them he found very annoying. He is not against Christianity, but is against any form of distorted religion. His simple and warm nature dislikes any show of formality or unnatural emotionalism. Some of these religious groups are born of an unnatural surrounding which deprives people of finding a natural outflow for their emotional life. In his description of Cincinnati he accuses the Germans of taking too active a part in the "Religionsunsinn." "One imagines oneself to be in a madhouse rather than with sensible Germans" (II, XI, 180). In this respect he shares the generally anti-clerical attitude of the German liberalism of the past century. In spite of his strong dislike for any sort of fanatical religion he prefers, to use an expression of Heine's, "*Gewerbefreiheit der Götter*" to the state religions as they existed in Europe.

Looking over the things which do not meet with the approval of Gerstäcker we notice that they are the outgrowth of a city life which, according to his opinion, is unnatural and the result of an artificial civilization which he found even more annoying in Europe. But on his "true" soil of America, where he spent most of his time, his passages breathe a different spirit. Those who criticize the people and conditions there are men whom Gerstäcker strongly advises never to step upon American soil. He considers them people who have lost all understanding for the beauty of nature, all appreciation for a natural and unspoiled existence. They are men whom Gerstäcker deeply and thoroughly despises. They are the *beaux-esprits* and idealists who believe they know everything better, who have come to America not to live happily and to enjoy life but to stamp on this happy continent the bad phases of European cultural life. They are for the most part idle members of the nobility, advocates or other members of the so-called intellectual circles who on the basis of their descent and "Ausbildung" (education)—Gerstäcker often calls it "Verbildung" (malformation of the mind)—consider themselves too good for physical labor. In the mouths of such people he places words like: "America is an excellent country for tobacco and cotton, for mosquitos and alligators, for robbers and thieves. But for the educated person, for someone who knows what he owes to himself and to his national honor as a German citizen, America is no fitting place" (I, VI, 128). In the parts of the United States which in those days were the frontiers Gerstäcker finds a primitive race, unspoiled by culture.

When he speaks of the "primitive-natural" or "primitive-strong" people that inhabit the regions of the Middle West he does not mean

the Indians. They play in Gerstäcker's works a very insignificant rôle. He observes with realistic eyes how the Indians, living among the white race, have adopted only its bad ways of life, and he presents a rather depressing picture of them.

We have all raved about Fenimore Cooper's Uncas and Chinchagook. If we found an opportunity, however, to observe in what manner the old Chinchagook and likewise the young noble chieftain Uncas prepared their meals, how seldom they thought it necessary to wash their faces and hands, much of their charm would have left us cold.<sup>5</sup>

In his picture of America this primitive Indian race plays but an incidental part.

The same can be said about the Negro race. He is against slavery, which he calls in one place "Das Brandmal der Zivilisation." He finds, however, that most of the plantation owners treat their slaves humanely.

Slavery is least of all noticeable in the western parts of America. The slaves who possess a kind master are the happiest, most contented people that exist on earth, and although I have no intention of defending the hideousness of slavery it must be said that it is not a disturbing element or a disgusting sight here. Many Germans are owners of slaves and the latter always fare better than the farm servants in Germany.<sup>6</sup>

Neither the Indian nor the Negro is meant by the "primitive-strong" race of North America, but the backwoodsmen and the farmers. It is with Gerstäcker not a comparison of the Indian with the white man, as in the case of the poet Seume, with an exaltation of the former, but rather a strong liking for the backwoodsman over and above the city dweller. Gerstäcker speaks of the backwoodsman as a type "who moves toward the West in advance of civilization, who does not care to live too close to his neighbor" (I, VI, 36).

Characters of that type are described in great detail and the reader cannot help but feel an admiration for them on the part of Gerstäcker. One passage will suffice:

It was a muscular, manly figure dressed in the customary clothes of the backwoodsman with leather shirt and leggings of the same material. He wore moccasins. On the left side of a broad leather belt a long hunting knife could be seen. His hair was curly, his eyes blue, the expression of his face definitely honest and straightforward.

<sup>5</sup> *Neue Reisen durch die Vereinigten Staaten, Mexiko, Ecuador, Westindien und Venezuela*. In the *Gesammelte Schriften* (Jena: H. Costenoble, 1872-1879). XXXV, 384.

<sup>6</sup> *Wie ist es denn nun eigentlich in Amerika?*, p. 69.

Only a somewhat hard line was around his mouth, which, however, could indicate courage as well as determination and which is characteristic of all the Americans living in the West who were raised in the forest and exposed to dangers from early childhood on. They traverse the primeval forest, first to hunt and later to settle it in "improvements" situated far beyond the boundaries of civilization. Although this race forms the transition from the red-skin to the White Man it sees in the red son of the forest its greatest enemy (*ibid.*).

The farmer, likewise, is described by Gerstäcker as a man who distinguishes himself advantageously from the European peasant. He possesses a feeling of freedom and independence and a class consciousness which is unknown to the farmers in Europe. The latter he describes in many places as being uncouth, clumsy, a class of people that due to their long servility to and dependence on other classes has not yet attained a class consciousness, while the American is completely void of this feeling of inferiority.

The social distinction between the city people and the farmer which is so noticeable in other parts of the world is unheard of in America. In vain the immigrant will seek in the American farmer for a trace of that coarse, clumsy behavior which distinguishes our brave farm people and which is due to the fact that the latter have little contact with the higher classes. The American farmer recognizes no superior group and the feeling of independence which is his gives him that unconstrained—I should like to call it genteel—bearing which in our circles reveals the man of the world (I, X, 519).

In order to complete the picture of the people in this region we should see what Gerstäcker has to say about the women. In many places he speaks of their natural grace, the respect they inspire, and the energy which slumbers in their hearts.

It is a rare pleasure to observe the natural grace with which these daughters of the forest conduct themselves in all circumstances of life in spite of the fact that many have never left their wild homeland. The cause of this self-assurance is to a high degree the respect in which women are held in the United States, and badly would fare the man who dared to insult the poorest and lowest of them. Often one will see young girls and women undertake long journeys alone and without protection, for they find in every companion a protector and friend (I, X, 519).

Another passage reads: "We know here in the forest of nothing more cowardly and mean than the mistreatment of a woman."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> I, VI, 224. See also I, X, 524.

Gerstacker finds it natural that people in the frontier districts have a different outlook upon life, that they must follow different rules in the conduct of their affairs. The circumstances necessitate a different mode of living. He does not allow his idealistic concept of life to condemn things because they run contrary to his basic conceptions. This he reveals particularly with regard to lynching and slavery. It is not hard to prove that basically he was opposed to both practices. However, his insight into conditions cautions him to be careful. We read in *Die Regulatoren in Arkansas*: "We are not yet in a position in our state to take the criminal to court and to hold him safely in jail. Everything here is too new" (I, I, 148). And in *Wie ist es denn nun in Amerika?* (p. 115) it is said that lynching "belongs to the necessary evils of self-defence, brought about by a free, unrestrained and somewhat lawless way of life." The club-law Gerstacker finds quite common in these remote regions. "To the devil with the customs of the Old World. If someone insults me I am the last one who will call for help. Let him call who started the fight; he will soon find cause for it. If I am struck by someone then I shall use my fists on him until he calls 'enough'."<sup>8</sup>

Life in these distant regions of the Middle West is conditioned by two human qualities which formed the basis for Gerstacker's character: Love of nature and appreciation for personal freedom, qualities which are, however, esteemed only by "primitive-strong" people unspoiled by perversions of culture and civilization. This realization causes Gerstacker to utter the same warning again and again:

Success is assured as far as the workers and farmers are concerned. The educated person must first free himself of the prejudices of the Old World. He has an inclination for day-dreaming and illusions. . . . No one, however, who has within him a slight touch of appreciation for freedom and independence—provided that no family ties hold him firmly bound to his native land—will hesitate to exchange the wide open forest regions for the chains of the fatherland on account of a little luxury and comfort which he can so easily do without (II, VII, 506).

In addition to "Naturfreudigkeit" and personal freedom, which receive undivided praise, Gerstacker emphasizes a third outstanding characteristic of these people which, exceeding personal limitations, assures national greatness and success. It is an interest in political matters, a consciousness of belonging to a great national Union ruled by democratic principles which permit the individual to play his part:

We must guard our rights, we must protect our liberties; otherwise we do not deserve the name "Republican" and we should gradually

<sup>8</sup> I, X, 363; *Eine Gerichtsszene in Arkansas*.



slip back into the morass of a despotic government of which we—Heaven be praised—were freed by the strong arms of our forefathers. We wish to live in peace and harmony, and regardless of whether the Whigs or the Democrats are in the government the people keep their eyes open. They are not like a blind horse which follows meekly the reins and advances only when it feels the sharp spur or the whip of the rider (I, X, 620 f.).

The feeling of belonging to a great democratic union kindles the souls of this primitive-strong race and inspires them to accomplish heroic deeds:

Look at those wild bands who battled at Buena Vista, Palo Alto, and Monterey, who stormed Mexico and, elated with victory, raised the Stars and Stripes in the old capital. This host of men would have advanced just as willingly and courageously against any other enemy named by their president; personal joy in combat and glory for Uncle Sam, that is their battle cry (I, X, 591).

It is this national consciousness which is the basis for the greatness of the American nation. He accuses his countrymen of acquiring, all too often, the bad features of the American character, but "that which gives to his existence the inner impetus—the consciousness of freedom, the national pride with which he sees his country grow and prosper in a way history has never before witnessed—that, unfortunately, is utterly beyond their comprehension" (I, VI, 151).

For this land of personal freedom and political freedom, for this life of simplicity and love of nature, Gerstcker's praise is freely expressed:

It is a great and wealthy realm, this free America, founded by capable men who laid a foundation which can last forever. The following generations have added untiringly to its structure; and even if a deformity has crept in now and then due to the many architects, even if here and there superfluous ornaments annoyingly interrupt the massive dignity of the whole, even in spite of the fact that other places are still lying in a crude and awkward condition waiting for the masterly hand, nevertheless they all do not disturb the harmony of the whole. It grows and expands in all directions, a sanctuary for the oppressed and the distressed, an open haven for the entire world. . . . What a wonderful country, what a vigor . . . what a splendid future will be yours. How it stirs, boils, germinates, sprouts, blossoms forth, and bears fruit—and over all a single banner, one battle cry in war for a united people, one goal in peace for an entire country (I, VI, 160, 166 f.).

These enthusiastic passages in praise of the greatness of America may be followed by a concluding statement taken from the book with

which I began Gerstäcker's picture of America, a book written in a very sober style for the simple immigrant and in its simplicity all the more convincing of the general good impression Gerstäcker held of the United States:

America is as happy a land as ever was created by the hand of God. It offers to the European everything which he can reasonably hope for or expect. However, I have wished to warn the emigrant to go there not hoping to find the impossible; I have wished to save him disappointments which will await him if he places faith in the alluring letters and frivolous descriptions of selfish agents and land owners. I have tried to awaken in him the conviction that America is a beautiful, splendid, and free country but, at the same time, a land of diligence and work. . . . The beginning is difficult, but all the troubles and labors will be richly rewarded in the end. You will be able to look into the future with calmness and serenity; neither need nor distress will stare into your eyes. Instead a happy old age awaits you in the bosom of your family and even if there will not be wealth and luxury for your children, nevertheless, a good and secure livelihood is assured them.<sup>9</sup>

Even from these brief remarks it can be safely concluded that Gerstäcker's picture of America is generally favorable and inspiring, and yet, at the same time, it differs greatly from that of most other writers. The great attention and praise given to the Indians by the romanticists is brushed aside by the realistic Gerstäcker. The qualities which would have to be theirs in order to arouse his enthusiasm are absent. He finds their life decaying and completely void of the virtues which tend toward wholesomeness of mind and body. Seume's ideal "*Wir Wilde sind doch bessere Menschen*" does not reëcho in Gerstäcker's works.

Likewise the ideals for which the members of the New Germany movement fought with their pens are only partly shared by Gerstäcker. The difference in his disposition and education separates him from these often brilliant theorists. To be sure, he shared with them the love for democratic freedom, but political freedom in Germany under prevailing economic and social conditions at that time would only partly develop individual life in its entirety and fullness. To the conception of political freedom must be added a natural way of living, a life close to nature.

*Nature* and *freedom* are the two key words which again and again appear in Gerstäcker's writings which deal with the people of the Middle West—the backwoodsmen and farmers. It is here that he repeatedly uses the adjective "primitive-strong." It is a glorification of the primitive life led by the inhabitants there in contrast to the

<sup>9</sup> *Wie ist es denn nun eigentlich in Amerika?*, pp. 126-27.

unnatural life of city dwellers and people in Europe, particularly in Germany. Nature and freedom produce in the backwoodsmen and farmers the qualities which Gerstäcker admires: They are affable and courteous, hospitable and subtle, brave and frank, free of earthly anxiety. They are closely tied to nature, appreciative of its closeness, devoted to the land around them from which springs their passionate love for the country whose freedom they are ready to defend at any time. Even the bad features which reveal themselves in the violence of party strife and personal enmity once their anger is aroused are the result of their primitive life. It is on the basis of the knowledge of such people that Gerstäcker envisages for the United States a great and glorious future.

Since the expression "primitive" was used in a previous statement, a brief elaboration of this concept in connection with Gerstäcker is in order. Indeed Gerstäcker found many faults with the civilized life of his environment in Germany and with his time. Nevertheless his favorable description of life in the Middle West is not the pessimistic expression of sentimental day-dreaming. One may speak in his case of an advocacy of practical primitivism, a "Back-to-Nature" movement based on the honest and realistic observation that the best qualities of a human being can find expression under the slogan of "Nature and Freedom." In innumerable places he holds these people up as the example for other beings who did not grow up under such favorable circumstances. Therefore his advice to the educated immigrant is to scrape off from his life all the accretions which he has brought over to the New World as a legacy from the Old.

The words of the editor of Gerstäcker's *Selected Works* may be mentioned in the conclusion of this article: "Many things have changed; nevertheless, Gerstäcker's description of America has hardly been surpassed by other writers. It is an instructive cultural picture and in the presentation of conditions of the past it is a criterion for the present" (I, V, 10).

*University of Maryland*

# A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CRITICAL ARTHURIAN LITERATURE FOR THE YEAR 1942.<sup>1</sup>

Prepared by  
JOHN J. PARRY

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AHR</i>	American Historical Review
<i>Arch. Camb.</i>	Archæologia Cambrensis
<i>Archiv</i>	Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen
<i>BBCS</i>	Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies
<i>JEGP</i>	Journal of English and Germanic Philology
<i>MLN</i>	Modern Language Notes
<i>MLQ</i>	Modern Language Quarterly
<i>MP</i>	Modern Philology
<i>N &amp; Q</i>	Notes and Queries
<i>PMLA</i>	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
<i>PQ</i>	Philological Quarterly
<i>RR</i>	Romanic Review
<i>ZCPH</i>	Zeitschrift für keltische Philologie und Volksforschung (continuing Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie)

2434. "Abeozen," *Owen ha Lunet*. Brest, 1931.

2435. ——— *Huñvre Maken* [Maxen's Dream]. *Luz ha Levelis*. Brest, 1934.

2436. ——— *Geraint hag Enid*. Brest, 1936.

2437. ——— *Peredur mab Evrog*. Brest, 1939.

2438. Ackerman, Robert W. "Dub in the Middle English Romances." *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, ix (1941), 109-114.

1786. Arnold, Ivor D. O. (ed.). *Le Roman de Brute de Wace*. It is reported that the second volume has now been published.

2439. Bang, Carol K. "Emotions and Attitudes in Chrétien de Troyes' *Erec et Enide* and Hartmann von Aue's *Erec der Wunderaere*." *PMLA*, LVII (1942), 297-326.

<sup>1</sup> This list contains a number of items that had been omitted from previous lists. For several of the titles I am indebted to Stanley E. Gwynn of the Newberry Library.

2440. Bennett, Josephine Waters. *The Evolution of "The Faerie Queene."* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942. [Chapters on "The Role of Prince Arthur" and "The Reputation of Arthur."]

2441. Bevans, Caleb Arundel. *The Old French Vocabulary of Champagne: a Descriptive Study based on Localized and Dated Documents.* Part of University of Chicago Dissertation. Chicago: University of Chicago Libraries, 1941. Lithotyped.

2283. Blasche, H. *Angelsachsen und Kelten.* 1940.

Rev. by Klaeber in *Archiv*, CLXXVIII, No. 1/2.

2442. Blenner-Hassett, Roland. "A Study of the Place Names in Lawman's *Brut*." Pp. 334-337 in *Harvard University Summaries of Ph.D. Theses*, 1940. Cambridge: Harvard University, 1942. [Includes Nennius, Geoffrey, Wace.]

2442a. ——— "Gernemuße: A Place Name Puzzle in Lawman's *Brut*." *MLN*, LVII (1942), 179-181.

2443. ——— "Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Mons Agned* and *Castellum Puellarum*." *Speculum*, XVII (1942), 250-254.

2444. ——— and F. P. Magoun. "The Italian Campaign of Belin and Brenne in the *Bruts* of Wace and Lawman." *PQ*, XXI (1942), 385-390.

1825. Brodeur, Arthur G. *Arthur Dux Bellorum.* 1939.

Rev. by William A. Nitze in *MLN*, LVII (1942), 64-68.

2444a. Brunel, Clovis (ed.). *Jaufré, roman arthurien en ancien provençal.* Tome 1. Paris, 1942.

2445. Cedrone, Nazzareno Francesco. "The Beginnings of Poetry in Southern Europe." [Arabic influence.] Pp. 432-435 in *Harvard Summaries of Ph.D. Theses*, 1940. Cambridge: Harvard University, 1942.

2446. Closs, Hannah Priebsch. "Chivalry versus Mysticism." [Arthurian examples.] Pp. 65-75 in *Art and Life*. New York: Stokes, 1937.

2447. ——— Her *Tristan* (a novel) is reviewed by Edwin H. Zeydel in *Germanic Rev.*, XVI (1931), 317. Dorothy K. Coveney in *LTLS*, Feb. 8, 1941, p. 67, disagrees with the review in *LTLS* of Jan. 18.

XX. (D., A.E. "Merlin, Harp Maker" in *N & Q* is not Arthurian.)

2448. Dauncey, K. D. M. "The Strategy of the Anglo-Saxon Invasion." *Antiquity*, XVI (1942), 51-63. See T. Dayrell Read.

2449. Ettlinger, Ellen. "The Invulnerable Hero in Celtic Legend." [Includes Arthur's mantel Gwenn, and the *Mabinogion*.] *Man*, XLII, No. 22 (1942), 43-45.

Foerster, Wendelin. See T. B. W. Reid.

2450. Frash, Robert Miller. *The Influence of the Fairy Mistress Romances on Spenser's "Faerie Queene."* Univ. of Illinois M.A. diss., 1939. Not printed.

2451. Gilson, Etienne. *The Mystical Theology of St. Bernard*. [Appendix on St. Bernard and Courtly Love.] Translated by A. H. C. Downes. (The French edition is Paris, J. Vrin, 1934.) New York: Sheed and Ward, 1940.

2452. Gordon, James D. *The Epistle of Othea To Hector: A "Lytel Bibell of Knyghthod."* Edited from the Harleian Manuscript 838. Univ. of Pennsylvania diss. Philadelphia, 1942. [Introduction includes *Conte del Graal* and *Beaudous*.]

2453. Gresham, Colin A. "The Book of Aneurin." (A précis of the introduction to Ifor Williams' *Canu Aneurin*; checked by Williams.) *Antiquity*, xvi (1942), 237-257.

2454. Grillo, Giacomo. *Two Aspects of Chivalry: Pulci and Boiardo*. Illustrations by Hermes C. Grillo. Boston: Excelsior Press, 1942.

2455. Hammer, Jacob. "Some Additional Manuscripts of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*." *MLQ*, III (1942), 235-242.

2456. Heller, Edmund Kurt. "A Vindication of Heinrich von dem Türlin based on a Survey of his Sources." *MLQ*, III (1942), 67-82.

2457. Hemon, Roparz. *Istor Burzudus hon Tadou*. Brest: Gwalarn (?), 1936. [From Geoffrey of Monmouth.]

1941. Hodgkin, R. H. *A History of the Anglo-Saxons*. Second edition. Oxford, 1939.

Additional rev. by C. A. R. Radford in *Antiquity*, xvi (1942), 280-281.

2458. Holmes, Urban T., Jr. "A Welsh Motif in Marie's *Guigemar*." *SP*, xxxix (1942), 11-14.

2459. Jaeger, Hans, and Bernhard Ulmer. *Will Vesper. Tristan und Isolde. Parzifal*. New York: Holt, 1942.

Rev. by Jane F. Goodloe in *Modern Language Journal*, xxvi (1942), 633-634.

2460. Johnson, F. C. *La Grant Ystoire de Monsignor Tristan "Li Bret."* Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1942.

Brief rev. in *LTLS*, May 30, 1942, p. 275.

2461. Jollivet, Brother Dalmatius Francis. *The Arthurian Cult*. Abstract in *Fordham University Dissertations*, 1940, pp. 40-42.

XX. (Kaye, George Percival. "Perceval: Percival" in *N & Q* is not Arthurian.)

2462. Lancaster, Charles Maxwell. *Saints and Sinners in Old Romance*. [Includes Tristan poems.] Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1942.

Brief note by J. J. P. in *JEGP*, xli (1942), 568-569.

2463. Legge, M. Dominica. *Le Roman de Balain. A Prose Romance of the Thirteenth Century*. With an introduction by Eugène Vinaver. Manchester: University Press, 1942.

2464. Lewis, Henry. *Brut Dingestow. Gyda rhagymadrodd, nodiadau, mynegai, a geirfa*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press Board, 1942.

Rev. by W. J. Gruffydd in *Y Llenor*, xxi (1942), 43-47; by E. D. [Ellis Davis] in *Arch. Camb.*, xcvi (1942), 132.

2465. Linn, Irving. *Wiedwilt son of Gawain*. New York University diss., 1942. Not printed (?). [Judeo-German.]

2466. Lloyd, John Edward. "Geoffrey of Monmouth." *EHR*, lvii (1942), 460-468.

2467. Lloyd-Jones, J. "Emyr, Ymer, ymher." [Originally a common noun meaning "emperor" or "king."] *BBCS*, xi (1941), 34-36.

2037. Loomis, Roger and Laura Hibbard Loomis. *Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art*. 1938.

Additional rev. by Trude Krautheimer-Hess in *Art Bulletin*, xxiv (1942), 102-104.

2468. McClennen, Joshua. "Allegory and the *Faerie Queene*." Pp. 350-353 in *Harvard Summaries of Ph.D. Theses*, 1940 (1942).

2469. Magoun, Francis P., Jr. "Scottish History in the 'Lay of Gurun.'" [A few Arthurian parallels.] *Studia Neophilologica*, xiv (1941-2), 1-24.

————— See also Roland Blenner-Hassett.

2470. Mühlhausen, L. "Kleine Beiträge. Peredur penwetic [and Peredur vab Efracw]; Chware a ffon a tharyan; A marchogaeth vn waith ar hugeint drostaw." *ZCPH*, xxii (1940), 67-68.

2471. Nitze, William A. "Who was the Fisher King? A Note on Halieutics." *RR*, xxxiii (1942), 97-104.

2472. ——— "The Home of Robert de Boron." *MP*, xl (1942), 113-116.



2473. Owings, Marvin Alpheus. *The Fine and Applied Arts in Middle English Romances*. Vanderbilt Univ. diss., 1942. Not printed.

2338. Painter, Sidney. *French Chivalry*. 1940.

Rev. by Palmer A. Throot in *AHR*, XLVII (1942), 573-574.

2415. Parry, John Jay. *The Art of Courtly Love*. 1942.

Rev. by Gray C. Boyce in *Thought* (June, 1942), 361-364; by Arthur W. Calhoun in *American Sociological Rev.*, VII (1942), 581-582; by Thomas A. Kirby in *MLQ*, III (1942), 119-121; by Olin H. Moore in *Italica*, XIX (1942), 121-124; by G. M[orey] in *History*, XXVII (1942), 95-98; by Marbury B. Ogle in *JEGP*, XLI (1942), 372-374; by Sidney Painter in *MLN*, LVII (1942), 315; by J. S. P. Tatlock in *Speculum* XVII (1942), 305-308; by Edward Larocque Tinker in *N. Y. Times Lit. Sup.*, Nov. 9, 1941, p. 28; by Graves Haydon Thompson in *Classical Weekly*, XXXV (1942), 126-127.

2474. ———. "A Bibliography of Critical Arthurian Literature for the Year 1941." *MLQ*, III (1942), 307-314.

2475. Powell, James Daniel. *The Position of the Subject Pronoun in the "Perlesvaus," the "Queste del Saint Graal," and the "Conquête de Constantinople."*

2476. Read, T. Dayrell. "The Strategy of the Anglo-Saxon Invasion." [Comment on article of K. D. M. Dauncey.] *Antiquity*, XVI (1942), 177-180.

2477. Reid, T. B. W. "*Yvain*," by Chrétien de Troyes. The critical text by Wendelin Foerster. With introduction, notes, and glossary. Manchester: University Press, 1942.

2478. Rhodes, Lulu H. *Verse translation of three Lais of Marie de France*. (Guigemar, L'Austic, Milun; with introduction on Marie.) Univ. of Arizona M.A. diss., 1935. Abstract in *Univ. of Arizona Record*, XXX (1937), 42-43.

2419. Roach, William. *The Didot "Perceval"*. 1941.

Rev. by Urban T. Holmes, Jr. in *Speculum*, XVII (1942), 308-310; by Roger Sherman Loomis in *RR*, XXXIII (1942), 168-174; by John J. Parry in *MP*, XL (1942), 213-215.

2479. Roberts, Thomas. "Y Traddodiad am y Brenin Arthur yng Nghaergai." [The tradition of King Arthur in Caergai.] *BBCS*, XI (1941), 12-14.

2150a. Sawicki, Stanislaw. *Die Eufemiavisor*. 1939.

Rev. by S. B. Hustvedt in *Germanic Rev.*, XVII (1942), 133-134.

2479a. Shubert, Esther Marian. *The Cataloging of Lancelot Literature*. Univ. of Illinois M.S. Thesis, 1940. Not printed.

2422. Snelleman, Willem. *Das Haus Anjou und der Orient*. 1941.

Rev. by John J. Parry in *JEGP*, XLI (1942), 543-544.

2480. Stanton, Amida. *Gerbert de Montreuil as a writer of Grail romance: an investigation of the date and more immediate sources of the continuation of "Perceval."* Part of Univ. of Chicago diss. Chicago, 1942. Lithotyped.

2481. Stephens, G. Arbour. *The Country of Merlin as the Provenance of the "Perlesvaus."* Swansea: privately printed, 1942.

2482. Sunden, K. F. "Notes on the Vocabulary of Layamon's *Brut*." *Studia Neophilologica*, xiv (1941-42), 281-300.

Ulmer, Bernhard. See Hans Jaeger.

2483. Valk, Melvin Ehrmann. *The Meaning of the Verbal Prefix "Ge-" in Gottfried's "Tristan."* Abstract in *Univ. of Wisconsin Summaries of Doctoral Dissertations*, II (1938), 336-338.

Vinaver, Eugène. See M. Dominica Legge.

2484. Vogel, Bertram. "Wortgeographische Belege and *Sir Tristrem*." *JEGP*, xli (1942), 478-481.

1675. Wade-Evans, A. W. *Welsh Christian Origins*. 1934.

Additional rev. by John Ryan in *Irish Historical Studies*, III (1942), 115-117.

2485. Watt, Lois Belfield. *Table manners and Meals as shown in the Middle English Metrical Romances*. Univ. of Maryland M.A. diss., 1940. Not printed.

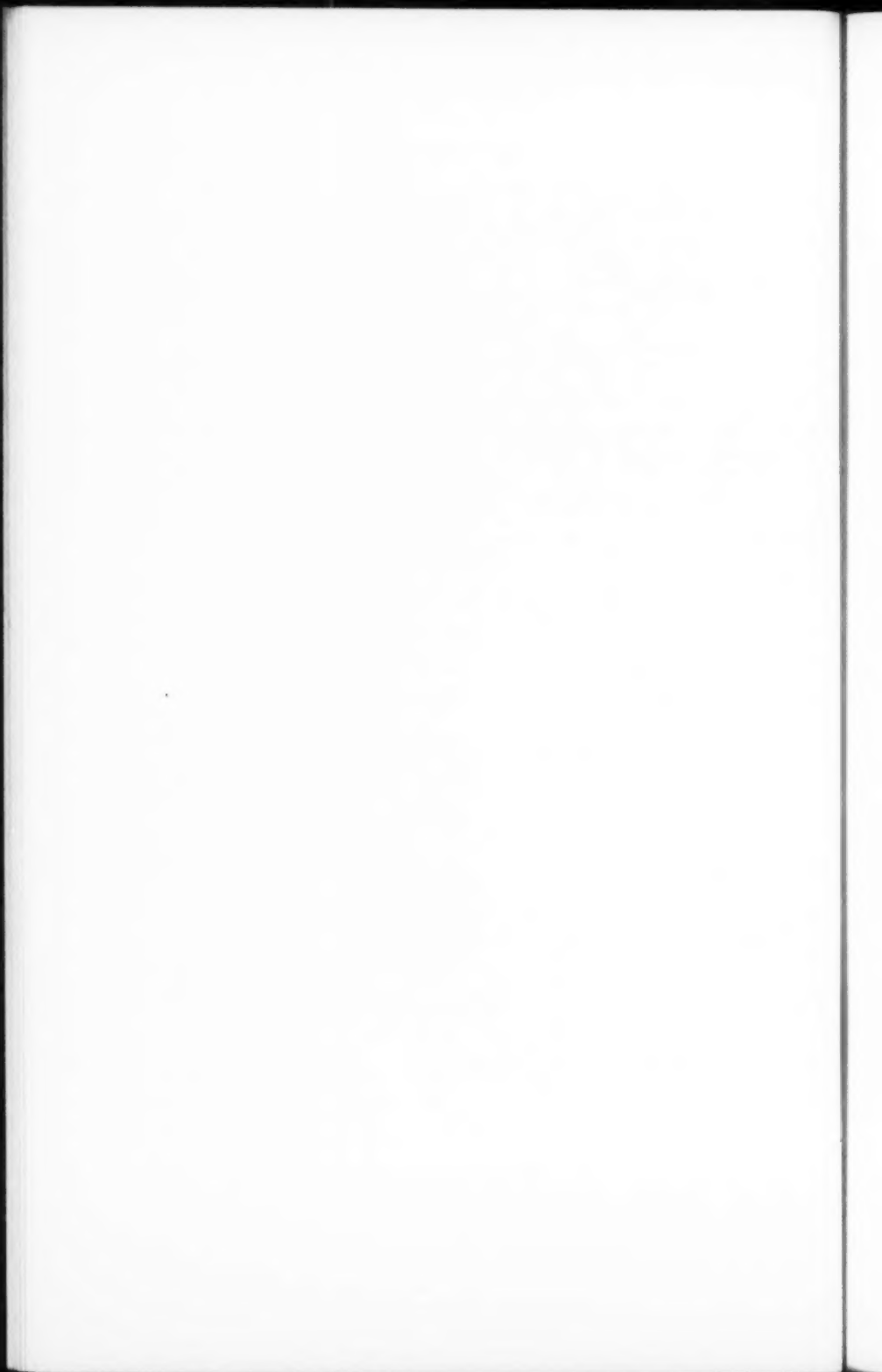
2486. Williams, Harry Franklin. *A Critical Study of Floriant et Florete — a late Arthurian Romance*. Univ. of Michigan diss., 1942. Not printed.

2487. Williams, Ifor. "Mommsen and the Vatican Nennius." *BBCS*, XI (1941), 43-48.

## INDEX

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| Agnes, Mons, 2443.                      | Balain, 2463.                                 |
| Allegory, 2468.                         | Beaudous, 2452.                               |
| Andreas Capellanus, 2415                | Belin and Brenne, 2444.                       |
| Aneurin, <i>Book of</i> , 2453.         | Bérout, 2462.                                 |
| Anglo-Saxon Invasion, 1825, 2448, 2476. | Bibliography, 2474.                           |
| Anglo-Saxons, 1941.                     | Boiardo, 2454.                                |
| Anjou, 2422.                            | Bret, 2460.                                   |
| Arabic influence, 2445                  | Breton, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2457.         |
| Art, 2037, 2473.                        | <i>Brut</i> , 2464. See also Wace and Lawman. |
| Arthur, King, 1825, 2479.               |   |
| Arthur, Prince, 2440.                   | Caergai, 2479.                                |
| Arthur's mantle, 2449.                  | Canu Aneurin, 2453.                           |
| Arthurian cult, 2461.                   | Castellum Puellarum, 2443.                    |
|   | Cataloging, 2479a.                            |

- Champagne, 2441.  
 Chivalry, 2446, 2454, 2338.  
 Chrétien de Troyes, *Erec*, 2439; *Conte del Graal*, 2452, *Yvain*, 2477.  
 Closs, Hannah Priebisch, 2447.  
 Courtly love, 2451, 2415.  
 Cult, Arthurian, 2461.  
*Didot "Perceval,"* 2419.  
*Dingestow Brut*, 2464.  
 Emyr, 2467.  
 English romances, Middle, 2438, 2473, 2485.  
*Erec*, see Chrétien de Troyes and Hartmann von Aue.  
*Eufemiavisor*, 2150a.  
*Faerie Queene*, see Spenser.  
 Fairy Mistress, 2450.  
 Fisher King, 2471.  
*Floriant et Florete*, 2486.  
 Gawain, 2465.  
 Geoffrey of Monmouth, 2442, 2443, 2455, 2466; in Breton, 2457; in Welsh, 2464.  
*Geraint and Enid*, 2437.  
 Gerbert of Montreuil, 2480.  
 Gottfried von Strassburg, 2483.  
 Grail romance, 2480.  
*Guigemar*, 2458, 2478.  
 Gurun, 2469.  
 Gwenn, 2449.  
 Hartmann von Aue, 2439.  
 Heinrich von dem Türlin, 2456.  
 Iconography, 2037.  
*Jaufré*, 2444a.  
*Lady of the Fountain*, 2434  
 Lancelot, 2479a.  
 Lawman, Layamon, 2442, 2442a, 2444, 2482.  
*Lludd and Llevelys*, 2435.  
*Mabinogion*, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2449, 2470.  
 Manuscripts, 2455.  
 Marie de France, 2458, 2462, 2478.  
*Maxen, Dream of*, 2435.  
 Merlin, 2481.  
 Mommsen, 2487.  
 Mons Agned, 2443.  
 Mysticism, 2446, 2451.  
 Nennius, 2442, 2487.  
 Novel, 2447.  
 Orient, 2422.  
*Othea to Hector*, 2452.  
*Owen and Lunet*, 2434.  
*Parzival*, 2459, 2422.  
*Perceval*, 2419, 2480.  
 Peredur, 2437, 2470.  
*Perlesvaus*, 2475, 2481.  
 Place names, 2442.  
 Pulci, 2454.  
*Queste del Saint Graal*, 2475.  
 Richard I of England, 2422.  
 Robert de Boron, 2472, 2419.  
 Spenser, Edmund, 2440, 2450, 2468.  
 Strategy, 2448, 2476.  
 Topography, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2481.  
 Tristan, 2447, 2459, 2460, 2462, 2483.  
*Tristrem, Sir*, 2484.  
*Vesper, Will*, 2459.  
 Vocabulary, 2441, 2482.  
 Wace, 1786, 2442, 2444.  
 Welsh, 2458, 2464, 2467, 2479, 1675.  
 Wiedwilt, 2465.  
 Wigalois, 2465.  
 Wolfram von Eschenbach, 2422.  
*Yvain*, 2477.



## REVIEWS

*Critical Theory and Practice of the Pléiade.* By ROBERT J. CLEMENTS. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1942. Pp. vii + 288. \$3.00.

This book offers a detailed treatment of certain aesthetic questions which confronted the poets of the Pléiade and an analysis of the judgments which they pronounced upon others—and upon each other—in regard to these questions. Or, as the author puts it: "This volume is to our knowledge the first attempt to create a latter-day poetics for the Pléiade movement, including, although not all, at least the most basic issues of their aesthetics." Mr. Clements recognizes five such issues, which he calls truth and sincerity (the ethics of poetry), glory and the revolt against glory (the values of poetry), clarity and obscurity (the communication of poetry), sweetness and utility (the function of poetry), art and nature (the inspiration of poetry). All this is clearly stated and well organized. However, since there can be no conflict between truth and sincerity, one may wonder why the first chapter was not entitled sincerity and mendacity.

Each of these investigations remains independent and could have been published separately (as a matter of fact some of them were). Still the book does not suffer from lack of unity. While its conclusions are not summed up in the clear-cut manner that one has been accustomed to find in methodical treatises of the traditional type, they have a better chance of being true. That realities are not so clear-cut as commonly believed, Mr. Clements must have discovered when he pressed his poets for a solution of those issues. Like most groups of poets, Ronsard and company waver, sway, contradict themselves, and leave an honest historian unable to make the fine generalizations on which second-hand scholarship likes to feast. In the course of these tribulations, however, the struggles of the poets with their art—theoretical or practical—unfold in a diversified and rich sequence, for the re-creation of which the author's stylistic talent is largely responsible.

The discussion of each problem begins with an outline of its antecedence, going as far back as classical times. The amazing erudition displayed therein appears to be original; if such is not the case, however, we think that the sources of information actually used should have been indicated more specifically. Likewise, each chapter closes with an indispensable summary. While these summaries must remain truthful even if truth is a complicated affair, they suffer occasionally from what appears to us as undue cramming and verbosity. As an example we may quote the last few lines of Chapter I:

Conscious of a strong tendency toward insincerity in themselves, they were quick to detect such a penchant in others. Just as their own indulgence

in Petrarchism made them sensitive to its insincerity, so did their practice of flattery make them discountenance flattery of all sorts in others. Their objections to flattery, like their objections to insincerity of all types, had a moral as well as an ethical basis. That is, not only did they find it personally distasteful, but they recognized as well all of its inherent vice for which the church had condemned it. These objections impelled the Pléiade to react unconsciously, to accept and apply a conservative canon of criticism which they never formulated, but which an inspection of their verse shows to be an integral part of their literary theory.

On the other hand, some of the conclusions are simpler and more definite, like that of Chapter V:

There were a great many reserves and compromises occasioned by the knowledge of the Pléiade that poetry was hard work, that poetry was a profession, that poetry demanded both a humanistic and a prosodic education. However, their Hellenism, their imagination, and their egotism inclined them to set genius over art. And their remarks and criticisms on other writers reveal that this inclination was even more pronounced than their theoretical treatises indicated.

The latter quotation is, of course, interesting in more than one respect, and it will serve to give an inkling of the best qualities of the book.

In a few instances the author seems to confuse easily distinguishable concepts or to contradict some of his earlier statements. (1) He believes that love of glory is synonymous with immortality in the Platonic sense. This is not true, at least as far as glory during the poet's life-time is concerned. A clearer distinction might have been made between this and posthumous glory. (2) On page 82 we are told of "a few exceptions" to a particular trend, but these turn out to be Du Bellay, Magny, Ronsard, Jodelle and Jean de la Taille! (3) Not long after reading that the bee was used as a symbol because of its "culling activity," we find the assertion that it "merely happened to become the symbol of the poet because of the universal cliché that sweet eloquence resembled nothing so much as honey." (4) Calvinistic predestination has nothing to do with the belief that some men are predestined to be poets. Mr. Clements went out of his way to make a wrong connection. (5) Art and erudition are not synonymous, and the author does not convince us that the Pléiade thought them to be so. (6) Mr. Clements is probably on the wrong track when he attempts to link the *intelletto* in Michelangelo with the *trobar clus*; at least he fails to clinch his point.

Among interesting by-products in his "Concluding Remarks," Mr. Clements justifies his including more than seven poets in the Pléiade and does it quite convincingly, Laumonier and Chamard notwithstanding. He shows both common sense and intellectual independence when he declares that "to indulge in lengthy pettifoggery debating whether the Pléiade included seven, eight, nine, or ten members would certainly seem a mark of pedantry rather than scholarship."

In short, a brilliant piece of work, marred only by occasional abstruseness and verbosity. It would take more than a brief review to challenge the substance of Mr. Clements' conclusions, but it is our guess that it would stand up pretty well under fire.

EDWARD F. MEYLAN

University of California

*Alfred de Vigny's "Chatterton": A Contribution to the Study of its Genesis and Sources.* By C. WESLEY BIRD. Los Angeles: Lymanhouse, 1941. Pp. 183.

Alfred de Vigny's play is generally linked with Dumas' *Antony* as the most characteristic of the Romantic dramas, but it has been singularly neglected by students of French literature. So far as the present writer has been able to ascertain, the work has never appeared in English translation. Sakellaridès, Lauvrière, Marc Cito-leux, Baldensperger, Séché and others have given it some attention in their respective works on its author, but no thorough study has been made. Dr. Bird's book, therefore, comes as a welcome addition to the intelligent commentary on this drama by the most generally acceptable of the Romantic poets.

The work deals with the Chatterton legend and Vigny's treatment of his sources. The first part—on the genesis of the play—includes a chapter on "themes" dealing, in a necessarily summary way, with such subjects as "suicide" and "industrialism." Then follows a section on "sources" and a not very well organized "conclusion." The section devoted to sources is perhaps the most noteworthy. Dr. Bird deals with two kinds of sources: those based on fact or on documentary evidence, and those based on similarity of text and circumstances. As is always the case, the latter procedure often brings to the argument the support of evidence which is doubtful. For example, though Vigny knew and probably admired *Antony*, the attempt to make a direct comparison of the two plays is unconvincing. In the same way the comparison of the Quaker's puritanism with that of the youthful Victor Hugo seems to be forced. The collation of Act III, scenes 1 and 2 of the play with Act III, scene 3 of *Phèdre* (pp. 139-142), while it shows a similarity of situation, is unenlightening.

Dr. Bird has undoubtedly proved his point regarding the "Racinian bent of Vigny's mind" and his intimate knowledge of the classic dramatist. It would, however, be dangerous to push the comparison too far. *Chatterton* is obviously not a Racinian play. (Dr. Bird does not claim that it is.) Racine was a dramatist; Vigny was an ideologist, and his "drame de la pensée" (as he proudly calls it) suffers from the very fact that it is a thesis play. Dr. Bird, following the



poet, says "the plot is simplicity itself." Yes, in conception it is, but not in effect. The structure suffers from the Romantic weakness (a perverted Shakespearian influence) of trying to achieve richness by crowding scene and action. The failure of the attempt at unity of action, for example, is shown by the fact that the more modern appeal of the play rests not on the main theme—the sorrows of the Poet—but on the Kitty-Chatterton sub-plot. Furthermore, there is no real classical "struggle." The Racinian play deals with the combat, within the soul of the individual, between 'desire and Fate. Its essence is high tragedy. Vigny describes the inability of a "noble soul" to come to grips with reality. The basis of the action is futility.

It is this failure on the part of the dramatist to achieve the concentration of the classical tragedy which has given the play a bad reputation and caused readers to overlook its undoubted merits. Dr. Bird has performed a real service in calling attention to the carefulness of the poet's documentation. He finds in the play influences of Montaigne, Racine, Corneille, Voltaire, Victor Hugo; of Southey, Addison, Ben Jonson, Scott, Richardson, and Byron; of Goethe; of Benjamin Franklin and others, and arrives at the just conclusion that "in his search for philosophical truth . . . and his exposition of a moral lesson Vigny relied upon the best authorities available, documented himself concerning insignificant as well as important facts, and allowed his imagination to weave about these verities that poetry which he felt would relieve the facts of their powder dry appearance." The value of the study lies in its exposition of the variety and richness of the poet's intellectual resources.

It is to be hoped that Dr. Bird's book will contribute to an awakened interest in a work which—whatever one may think of its romantic weaknesses—is of undoubted value as a monument of literary history.

ARNOLD C. ROWBOTHAM

*University of California*

*Maupassant Criticism in France, 1880-1940. With an Enquiry into his Present Fame and a Bibliography.* By ARTINE ARTINIAN. New York: King's Crown Press (a branch of the Columbia University Press), 1941. Pp. viii + 228. \$2.50.

As the title indicates, Dr. Artinian has accomplished three tasks: first, he has examined how Maupassant fared at the hands of the critics from the time when he first burst into popularity until the present; second, he has inquired of living writers their estimate of his present fame; and third, he has given us a bibliography of articles and books on Maupassant which is, to the best of my knowledge, by a considerable margin the fullest to date.

The first task is adequately and clearly done, even if no major revisions of current literary opinions are accomplished. Dr. Artinian brings up a number of interesting points and corrects some misapprehensions. It is surprising to learn, for instance, that in Russia in 1940 Maupassant headed the list of the most published foreign authors, with 3,000,000 copies of his works issued since 1917. It is mildly salutary to learn that Ollendorff published more works of Maupassant than Harvard, during the author's lifetime. There is also some interesting material on the history of Maupassant's production. On the whole, however, no reader moderately well informed on French literature of the last hundred years need change his ideas on the critical destiny of the French *conteur*.

The value of the second of Dr. Artinian's undertakings is questionable. Though he was certainly aware of the publicity value of his list of famous names, we do not question his sincere desire to add to our knowledge by his enquiry. But are the heterogeneous and hasty opinions of a hundred writers any true measure of fame? If he wanted to find out how much Maupassant is read today, there are more positive methods available. He himself mentions publishers' sales records and figures on the demand for Maupassant's works in libraries. To go through, year by year, the *Bibliographie de la France* for reissues is no great task, and would give some indication of the rise and fall of Maupassant's popularity. But since Dr. Artinian makes no claims of statistical validity for his enquiry, we must look elsewhere for its usefulness. The publishers assert that its result "is not only a unique achievement in collected criticism but also a stimulating record of the fealties and reactions of contemporary writers." This promise I consider less than fulfilled. Many of the well known writers listed in the book and in the publicity have nothing, or next to nothing, to contribute; they have forgotten their Maupassant, or never read him, or think their opinion too ill-founded to be of value. One critic objects to the "ultra-refinement and exquisiteness," the "delicate impotence," the "lovely strengthlessness" of Maupassant's work; it is impossible to take such criticism seriously. Some of the replies are interesting and well-informed, among them that of Gide, who concludes his comment by saying, "Il [Maupassant] est à chacun de ses lecteurs la même chose et ne parle à aucun d'eux en secret" (p. 149). Gide could scarcely be guilty of the absurdity of saying that all readers of Maupassant must have the same opinion of him; he obviously means that the content of Maupassant is so explicit that it leaves no room for suggestion and speculation. The judgment is perhaps debatable, though I should not care to support the negative; but surely Dr. Artinian is unfair to Gide when he says, in his concluding paragraph (p. 124): "And if they [the opinions of the writers] do nothing else, they help at least to disprove the contention made by some—André Gide, for instance—that Maupassant speaks the same language to all readers."

The general conclusions that may, somewhat tentatively, be drawn from the opinions of the contemporary writers are very much what one would expect; the surprises are always heavily outweighed by the confirmations. On the whole we are left much as we were before the enquiry.

Dr. Artinian's style is smooth, natural, and orderly, no mean achievement in view of the kind of material with which he was working. The occasional Gallicisms ("mundane novels," p. 111; "continuator," p. 119) are exceptional. It was probably the printer who omitted "with" from the phrase "remonstrated the young author" (p. 27); it was certainly the printer who transposed lines 21 and 22 of page 113, and made nonsense of what was good prose.

The index of names and titles unfortunately lacks many references. It is the bibliography which remains Dr. Artinian's most substantial achievement in this work.

HAROLD MARCH

Swarthmore College

*Les Écrivains Français de L'entre-deux-guerres.* By PIERRE BRODIN. Montréal: Editions Bernard Valiquette, 1942. Pp. 389. \$1.50. By mail, \$1.60. [Agent for U. S., Miss M. Giaque, 2494 Norris Ave., New York.]

This volume is very different in scope and treatment from that of Mr. Baldensperger, *La Littérature française entre deux guerres*, which was reviewed in an earlier issue of the *Modern Language Quarterly* (December, 1941). Mr. Baldensperger displays an impressive panorama of the period of 1918 to 1939, with a never-failing wealth of documentation; and this will appeal more to scholars. Mr. Brodin focuses the attention on a few "grandes figures," and will appeal to a decidedly cultivated public, although he does not include many authors mentioned by Mr. Baldensperger.

The figures treated are Gide, Claudel, Valéry, Colette, Giraudoux, Roger Martin du Gard, Mauriac, Duhamel, Jules Romains, Montherlant, Green, Malraux, Saint Exupéry. There are more, such as Maurres, Bernanos, Céline, Giono, who will be treated in a forthcoming volume.

Our space being strictly limited we can only jot down a few notes. The first chapter, "La littérature française entre deux guerres," gives a valuable bird's-eye view of the period. The years 1919-1930 offer what must be considered as "littérature d'après-guerre," and 1930-1940 what may be considered as "littérature d'avant-guerre." The first was a period of discouragement and exhaustion, the second one of resurrected courage, and—alas!—of misguided optimism.

A surprise at the start: on page 23, when Mr. Brodin begins to enumerate the "meilleurs représentants" of the period, he writes:

"A tout seigneur, tout honneur. André Maurois, qui eut sans doute les plus beaux tirages littéraires . . . restera comme l'Anatole France de la période, l' 'honnête homme' du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle. . . ." But, then, where is the "grand seigneur," André Maurois? Let every reader interpret the omission as he sees fit.

The reader receives a clear and lasting impression of the various authors: Gide, who, when he was twenty (1891), wrote his *Traité de Narcisse*, and who remained all his life a "Narcisse"—more than ever from 1919-1941; Madame Colette, who also betrayed her own soul in a title, *L'ingénue libertine*; Montherlant, who started as an advocate of sportsmanship and ended as the keen and pitiless analyst of the feminine mind, and who may well be ranked beside the much exalted Proust; etc., etc.

Jules Romains, who transfers into his novels the old theory of Jules Lebon on the *Psychologie des foules*, evidently was somewhat puzzling to Mr. Brodin. At any rate, we observe that the pages allotted him in the book amount to not much more than a resumé of his novels, especially of the unfinished series *Hommes de bonne volonté*; indeed Mr. Brodin does not, like Mr. Baldensperger, mention Jules Romains in the same paragraph with Hugo of *Les misérables*, and Tolstoy of *War and Peace*.

What Mr. Brodin means exactly when he says that the "actions" in Claudel's dramas "ne se développent pas avec rigueur," the writer does not understand. It would seem on the contrary that in dramas like *Annonciation faite à Marie* and *L'Otage*, the "rigueur" of Catholic asceticism is most firmly, even painfully, emphasized. To Valéry Mr. Brodin is very partial. But, could not Valéry's feeling of repulsion for any author who writes clearly—implying that it is not possible to write both clearly and profoundly—be challenged? What about Pascal? As to Valéry himself, even after a careful reading of Mr. Brodin, that author may well remain an enigma to many. And what great work has he produced? *Le cimetière marin*? Is *Le cimetière marin* a great work?

The chapter on Giraudoux, "l'auteur le plus significatif de ce temps," is appropriate and timely. The general public needed some enlightening about one who has been declared, one day "le plus mauvais [écrivain] de sa génération," and another day, "le plus original." Giraudoux himself modestly commented: "Je ne considère tout ce que j'ai fait que comme une espèce de divagation poétique." Now Mr. Brodin discovers in him "l'essence de l'esprit français," a genius of the family of La Fontaine, Voltaire, Renan. In another excellent chapter, Martin du Gard, the author of *Les Thibault*, is presented as having just as much right to be called typically French, but belonging to the family of Descartes, Balzac, and Taine.

Both Mr. Brodin and Mr. Baldensperger end with a tribute to Saint-Exupéry, representing "la littérature de l'héroïsme."

This book well deserves the honor of translation for the benefit of English readers.

ALBERT SCHINZ

Indiana University

*The Epic of Latin-American Literature.* By ARTURO TORRES-RÍOSECO. New York: Oxford University Press, 1942. Pp. vii + 279. \$2.25.

Those of us acquainted with the many articles and books of Professor Torres-Ríoseco have awaited with interest the publication of his history of Spanish-American literature. What we now have is not exactly what we were expecting; but it is just as good. It is not a formal history; rather it is a series of six essays on the main trends and movements of literature in Latin America, the social and political background of these movements, and their outstanding representatives. Five of the chapters, or essays, have to do with Spanish America; the sixth passes in rapid review the main literary tendencies and writers of Brazil.

As an essayist whose purpose is to give the synthetic results of research and meditation rather than the tabulation of factual details, Professor Torres-Ríoseco is concerned mainly with generalizations and representative writers. The unifying thesis of the first five essays is the long struggle for literary independence in Spanish America; the early forward surge, the retreat and stagnation of the late colonial period, the steady advance of the nineteenth century, and the attainment of the goal in the twentieth; this is the "epic" of Spanish-American literary history. Each essay has its own unifying theme, indicated by the title given to each chapter.

The "Heroic Sixteenth Century" produced two main literary types, the chronicle and the epic. In the "Baroque Seventeenth Century" the euphuistic tendencies of literature in the mother country invaded the cultural life of the colonies, checked the growing Americanism of the earlier writers and made difficult, if not impossible, the production of poetry and prose of permanent artistic value. And yet it was in this same baroque century that Mexico gave to Spain one of her greatest dramatists, Ruiz de Alarcón; and it was in this century that a Mexican woman, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, wrote her inspired, profoundly human poetry. The neo-classicism of the eighteenth century, in its diluted Spanish form, completed the restoration of the literary domination of Spain, the "Hispanic Pattern."

In the second chapter, "The Romantic Upheaval," the author attempts to compress into a single, unified essay his survey of nineteenth-century literature, a literature characterized by disunity, by conflicting movements, by varying foreign influences, and by outstanding literary reputations that defy classification. In his determination to force almost all nineteenth-century literature into the Procrustean bed of Romanticism, he presents the three great poets of the early years of the century, Olmedo, Bello and Heredia, as precursors of the movement, and not as the traditional representatives of neo-classicism. This and other questionable judgments and some inconsistencies might have been avoided if he had followed the usual, less original subdivision of the nineteenth century into neo-classicism, romanticism and realism.

Spanish-American poetry of the last fifty years is presented chronologically as the "Modernistic Movement" and "Post-War Poetry." Out of many diverse, and even conflicting elements was evolved a new literary formula known as Modernism, "the first original contribution to world literature" (p. 86). Rubén Darío and other exponents of the first phase are given adequate treatment, in spite of the very inadequate label, "The Escapists." "New Worldism," usually treated as a reactionary and distinct movement, appears here as the second phase of Modernism. The chapter ends with a brief survey of Negro poetry, "a new movement which is encouraging for the future of Spanish-American poetry" (p. 127).

One of the best of the essays is the fourth, "Gaucha Literature," closely related to the main theme, literary Americanism, and yet retaining its identity as a well-constructed essay, in which we see the gradual emergence of poetic folklore into the main current of a national literature. The Gaucha as a literary theme passes from the original folk-songs, through the epic of the pampas, to the prose fiction and drama of modern Argentina. In drama, it reaches its climax in the plays of Florencio Sánchez; in prose fiction, the high point is attained by *Don Segundo Sombra*, a novel in which the central figure becomes the symbol of a vanishing heroic race.

Chapter V, the "Spanish-American Novel," maintains the high standard of a literary critic who had already gained wide recognition by his various publications in this field. Beginning with the realistic elements of romantic prose fiction, passing through the exaggerated Zolaesque naturalism of the last years of the nineteenth century, the Spanish-American novel has attained today a sane, comprehensive realism that places its best representatives "alongside their most distinguished fellow craftsmen in the modern world" (p. 168).

The last chapter, "Brazilian Literature," is necessarily somewhat sketchy, and will probably satisfy only those whose knowledge of Brazilian culture is quite elementary. The subdivisions and general treatment follow rather closely those of the preceding five chapters, compressed into a single chapter not much longer than one of the five treating of the literature of Spanish America. The main thesis is the same, the steady advance toward a complete literary Americanism.

Since this is not a formal history of literature, it should not be criticized adversely for its omissions or for views and opinions that the majority of literary historians might find too individualistic; as a collection of essays on main trends and outstanding writers, it will receive a warm welcome. In the opinion of this reviewer, it is the most readable book yet published on Latin-American literature.

GEORGE W. UMPHREY

University of Washington



*The Law of Property in Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Drama.*

By PAUL S. CLARKSON and CLYDE T. WARREN. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1942. Pp. xxvii + 346. \$3.50.

The authors explain,

Our method of treatment has been to group and discuss all legal allusions by all the playwrights surveyed according to legal subject-matter. . . . We have attempted to keep constantly in mind the fact that we were writing for three classes of readers. First of all, we had in mind the student and lover of the plays. . . . Second, we have written this book for the lawyer. . . . Last, we hope that many people who are not professional specialists in either of the fields of law or letters . . . will find matter of interest and guidance in this book.

The result is a semi-popular encyclopedia of Elizabethan law, with application and illustration from Elizabethan dramatists, including Shakespeare, of which the present volume, upon "The Law of Property," is only the first. Shakespeare appears, therefore, only occasionally, while under many headings no dramatist appears at all—and even so, the authors regretfully omit many of the prettiest headings of property law for want of some excuse to include them. Each dramatist has his index, which the scholar will need, for the authors, in attempting to make a book out of an encyclopedia, have dropped a great deal of material to the footnotes.

A single instance must suffice to illustrate the difficulties which our authors faced. They point out that, "Since the dramatists use the word 'copy' in several senses it constitutes a veritable trap for the commentator." So when "In Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, a character boasts, 'I am a *Londoner*, . . . Free by my Copy,'" and when "Dekker puns on the same idea in *The Honest Whore, Part I*: 'Citizens sons & heirs are free of the house by their fathers copy,'" the primary reference is to citizenship through membership in a guild, to which a son was free in his father's right, certainly not primarily, if at all, to the legal category to which our authors refer it. Incidentally, "It was the *copy* of our conference" (*C. of E.*, V, 1, 62) is far from alluding to "Original, manuscript, theme, etc." It is merely the Latin *copia* Anglicized, referring to that "plenty of words and matters" which was "whaled" into little boys in grammar school under the guidance of the *De Duplici Copia, Verborum ac Rerum* of Erasmus.

Our authors conclude as to Shakespeare, "We do not say, dogmatically, that William Shakespeare was not a lawyer, or that he had no legal education. . . . But on the basis of our comparative studies, we do state categorically that the internal evidence from Shakespeare's plays is wholly insufficient to prove such a claim." The categorical statement is hardly justified by their analysis of the evidence. For they have examined only one classification of one type of legal evidence, the law treatises on property. There is nothing to show what and how much law such lawyers as those at Stratford would know and what would be the nature of such an apprenticeship as has



been posited for Shakespeare. There might be conclusive evidence in their assembled materials that Shakespeare was an apprentice to the law. For the quality of one reference in its proper background might outweigh any quantity of references. Quantitative parallels with fellow dramatists give us only the literary habits of these authors. For, as our authors rightly insist, Shakespeare and his fellow dramatists were writing plays for an untechnical audience, not treatises on the law for expert lawyers. Even if Shakespeare had been master of all the subtleties of legal technicalities, they would not necessarily have made any considerable appearance in his literary work. One should remember by way of warning that on the evidence assembled by the late Miss Spurgeon as to the quantity of Shakespeare's "images" from the stage—if anybody knows what an "image" is—we should be forced to conclude that there is no evidence in his work that he was a dramatist and actor. The reason is simple; this is art, not life. And the relation between art and life for each individual is something to be discovered, not assumed.

As to Shakespeare's habit in the use of legalisms, our authors have shown that he is about average in the quantity of his legal allusions. They do not appear to have given us as definite an idea upon the comparative quality of them. And the original question as to whether Shakespeare had any training as a lawyer remains open, though it is now clear that such training, if he had it, was of little importance to him as a dramatist. Our authors conclude correctly, "As to that we are agnostic: as a matter of biographical fact, we simply do not know." The value of this work does not lie in any light it may throw on that question, but in the welcome background it gives us for the legal technicalities in the Elizabethan drama. There its contribution is substantial, though not unerring. The remaining volumes of the series should certainly be made available.

T. W. BALDWIN

*University of Illinois*

*The Correspondence of Lady Katherine Paston, 1603-1627.* Edited with Introduction and Notes by RUTH HUGHEY. England: Norfolk Record Society, vol. XIV, 1941. Pp. 152.

Geneticists have not proved that epistolary ability (by which the reviewer means the ability to write letters at all) is transmissible through the genes. Yet here is a respectable group of Paston letters written a full century later than the latest of the famous ones. A theory of heredity breaks down at once: Lady Katherine was no Paston by birth, but the daughter of Sir Thomas Knyvett. She became a Paston in 1603 by marrying Edmund, made Sir Edmund in 1609, great-great-great-grandson of the Sir John Paston (d. 1503) who was one of the last correspondents in the earlier series.

Miss Hughey was led to the publication of this collection by her studies of the English gentlewoman in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. She became acquainted with Lady Katherine, it seems, before knowing that these letters were available. "Her correspondence," writes Miss Hughey, "has been selected from the several volumes of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Paston letters now in the British Museum, not because it is more valuable in the history of the Paston family, but because it furnishes an excellent picture of the ability and interests of an early seventeenth-century woman."

Of the eighty-five letters printed, nearly forty deal largely with disputations and legal actions concerning a portion of the Paston estate. Many are not written by Lady Katherine, and a few not even to her. Only an abstractor of titles on vacation or a Philadelphia lawyer (or perhaps a Norfolk antiquary) will care to follow the editor and the disputants into the details of this case. Letter 15 quickens one's interest, addressed as it is to Francis Bacon in his capacity as Lord Chancellor and bearing a sentence of endorsement in his own hand. Sir Edward Coke also turns up here and there, as "Cosin Coke," by reason of his having married a Paston as first wife, a cousin, namely, of Sir Edmund's grandfather.

The value and interest of the book for most of us lie in the sequence of forty-three letters written between January, 1624, and July, 1627, by Lady Katherine to her son William while he was a member of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. We have also two letters from the college boy to his mother and one to her from Dr. Samuel Walsall, Master of Corpus Christi. Here we are afforded intimate glimpses into the ways of the country gentry, the relations of student and tutor (for the tutor was always remembered, by gifts as well as by words, and paid more than one visit to the home of his pupil), the occupations of a Cambridge student of the time, and, most of all, the changeless care and love of a mother for her absent son. There is, furthermore, interesting proof here of the conservatism of Lady Katherine's class and character in English life. With very slight changes these letters might have been written at any time from a century earlier than their actual period to a century or even two centuries later.

One must not expect a discussion of the boy's studies. The one book mentioned by Lady Katherine is Abraham Fleming's *Conduit of Comfort*, a moralistic work in verse, entered in the *Stationers' Register* in 1579 and recorded as extant in modern, though not recent, times. William Paston is urged to read his *Conduit*; as for his studies, after he has been at Cambridge for more than two years his mother makes the kindly suggestion (Letter 75), "and if thou canst not attayne to Learninge the Lattin tounge parfitly, yet bestow thy time in redinge good English bookes which may furnish thy minde with delitfull good things." For the rest, she sends him food—"a Cake and Cheese a fewe pudinges and linkes: a turkey pie pasty: a pot of Quinces and sume marmelate" for Lenten eating with his

tutor—clothes that sound equally rich, "sume Clockt bands, the very best watsons shop will afford," and always much good and loving advice. She warns William often against heating his blood by too much exercise, being especially afraid of tennis, though the game is defended by Dr. Walsall (Letter 35), who is persuaded "there is not any exercise more wholesome, & not many more gentlemanlike." She acknowledges, as gifts from William, some "gilt paper" for her letter-writing and a "pote of oliues."

The editing, as might be expected, is excellent, with a full and informative Introduction, a list of chief personages concerned in the correspondence, and careful Notes. Two or three small matters distracted this reader. On p. 19 and on p. 36 Sir Thomas Paston is said to have died in 1550; but on p. 33 Edward Paston of Appleton is said to have been his son, born in 1570. On p. 80 (Letter 53) Lady Katherine rejoices in hearing of William's "Giuell and good demenur"; surely the word is *Ciuell*. On p. 74 (Letter 44) the mother urges William "to wear thy Clothes neat and Clean it is a great Comendation to se a young man spines and neat." Here the puzzling word must represent a misreading of *spruce*; if not, a note seems called for.

Much more of interest must be passed over; but any reader will enjoy Lady Katherine's badly spelled letters; her language is right English, close to the soil and to other realities; her sentiments are hearty and timeless. Finally, a tribute to the Norfolk Record Society for carrying forward, in difficult days, its work of publication, and issuing its fourteenth volume of records in the twelfth year of its existence as a Society.

HOYT H. HUDSON

*Stanford University*

*The Jacobean and Caroline Stage: Dramatic Companies and Players.*

By GERALD EADES BENTLEY. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1941. 2 vols. Pp. xx + 748. \$12.50.

This is a welcome and timely book. It could hardly have been published earlier, and further delay in its compilation might easily have resulted in the irreparable loss of primary materials, for who knows what legal and ecclesiastical documents may perish before scholars can revisit the English archives? In two convenient, clearly printed volumes Professor Bentley has brought together in orderly form the scattered gleanings of all the scholars who have contributed to the history of the English stage of this period. The publications of Adams, Baldwin, Chambers, Greg, Hillebrand, Hotson, Lawrence, Murray, Nungezer, Sisson, Wallace, and the rest have yielded ample returns, but Professor Bentley's own contributions are very considerable. These, interwoven with becoming modesty, represent

his long days of searching wills, parish registers, and chancery records for the scattering grains of relevant biographical detail. Thoroughgoing as the book is, much, of course, remains to be done, both with the dramatic companies and their repertoires and with the biographies of the players; and it may be predicted with confidence that at the end of the war the stimulus of this book will send scores of investigators following the new trails that Professor Bentley blazes.

How extensive and how puzzling are the data which Professor Bentley presents, it is difficult to realize unless one has pursued an elusive dramatist or actor through the numerous repositories of seventeenth-century documents. Take for example the minor actor Edward Davenport (II.422). It is a matter of record (1) that a provincial actor of this name was imprisoned at Banbury in 1633 (*MSC* I.iv.v. 370-395; II.iii. 338), and (2) that one of the Cockpit players in 1639 bore the name Edward. Further it is recorded (3) that Edmund and Rebecca Davenport had a son Edward christened at St. Giles in the Fields on 10 August 1638/39, and finally (4) that upon the decease of an Edmund Davenport his position as Messenger to the Chamber in ordinary was filled 5 October 1640. From the following notes in my possession, however, I am led to doubt that the Cockpit player is to be identified with Edmund the messenger, and it is reasonably certain that he was not the husband of Rebecca Davenport. Edmond and Rebecca Davenport (née Lancashire) were married at Allhallows, London Wall, in the year 1633; and on 18 September 1640 the will of Edmond Davenport *alias* Danford of (Thames) Ditton, Surrey, was probated at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, by his relict, Rebecca. The latter date makes it almost certain that Edmond of Allhallows and of Thames Ditton are one and that they are identical with Edmond of St. Giles in the Fields and Edmond the Messenger of the Chamber in ordinary, whose post, recently vacated by the death of the incumbent, was filled on 5 October 1640. If so, Edward the Cockpit player is the more certainly Edward the provincial player of 1633, as Professor Bentley suggests; but we cannot consider this a proved fact, for there were other men of the same name in and about London at this time. One of these, a gentleman, of London, was joint defendant with William Savile in a suit brought on 9 July 1641 by John Ware, yeoman, of Cotton, in co. Kent (P R O Chancery Records W 3/6). Still another (or perhaps the same?) Edward Davenport, gent., of St. Andrews, Holborn, joined with Bridget, his wife, in a suit against Thomas Johnson *et al.* (C/3/440/22) on 31 January 1652. See also the records of another suit (D 63/81; R 58/33, etc.), involving this Edward and Bridget, of the one part, and George Duncombe, esq., and John Smart, gent., of the other part. Mention might also be made of an Edward who in 1629 married Sarah Stead of Stepney and of another (?) Edward, who on 9 July 1663 took to wife Sara Brooks at Allhallows, London Wall. This last may well be the son

of Edmond and Rebecca Davenport, whose christening is recorded in this parish as of 9 January 1638/39 (see Bentley, II.422).

Professor Bentley picks his steps warily amidst such perplexities as these, carefully documenting each item so that the accuracy of his work may be checked and the validity of his inferences and conclusions tested. The result is a solid contribution to scholarship. The first volume gives a detailed account of each of the dramatic companies then active; the second devotes nearly three hundred pages to the actors whose names have survived and, in an appendix, supplies new or almost inaccessible material about certain wills of theatrical interest, the closing of the theatres by plague, private records of Sir Humphrey Mildmay, and "Mr. Heton's Papers." While the second volume is interesting and useful for reference, the first is likely to prove the more valuable. Not only does it give the most lucid and comprehensive record of the previously known companies that has yet appeared, but it also identifies for the first time the King and Queen of Bohemia's Company, which earlier writers have completely overlooked.

JAMES G. McMANAWAY

*Folger Shakespeare Library*

*Vauxhall Gardens.* By JAMES GRANVILLE SOUTHWORTH. New York: Columbia University Press, 1941. Pp. ix + 199. \$2.75.

The aim of the author of this monograph is suggested by its subtitle: A Chapter in the Social History of England. Vauxhall Gardens was for some two hundred years London's most famous amusement resort. In an account of the gardens themselves during these years, of the types of people who frequented them, and of the entertainment given therein Mr. Southworth finds changes which, he thinks, reflect many of those taking place in the literature of the time. As primary material he has used a large collection of clippings, playbills, contracts, music, etc., relating to Vauxhall; he has used also many references to the gardens found in contemporary literature.

The subject is an attractive one, but this treatment of it is not. It is unfortunate that Mr. Southworth could not have had for his model the three essays which recently appeared in the *New Yorker* under the title "Central Park," for from this handling of a similar subject he might have learned how to be entertaining as well as sound. *Vauxhall Gardens* is presumably sound but it is certainly not entertaining. Surely a work should be as entertainingly written as its subject allows, and this one might have made excellent reading. Instead it is dull. Mr. Southworth's style is usually correct but it is also wordy, trite, and ponderously witty. There are many lengthy and laborious transitions. In passing from a brief biography of one Vauxhall singer to an account of another Mr. Southworth circumlocutes thus: "It is not a case of the farmer in the dell, in which song

the farmer takes his wife and the wife takes the child, that I have considered Beard first, then Lowe, to be followed by Joseph Vernon; although Vernon did succeed Lowe at Vauxhall in 1764" (pp. 147-148). Sometimes the transition becomes digression.

A young boy I once knew, who was trying to earn a prize by selling tickets to a concert, was told: "What! a dollar for a ticket to a concert! Why I can get a good dinner for a dollar!" The psychology of the woman making this statement, combined with an observation made by Ferenc Molnar through one of his characters that an audience always loves to see actors eat, accounts for the following detailed treatment of the Vauxhall suppers (p. 132).

Another form of wordiness is Mr. Southworth's practice of telling the reader that something is not worth saying (pp. 64, 108). A third is the inclusion of gratuitous generalizations. "The morals of an artist make no difference as long as his particular vices do not sap the vitality of his art" (p. 145). "Rare is the singer who is in voice except when you do not happen to hear him" (p. 167).

If a style is otherwise good we can accept a little too much of it, but Mr. Southworth's style is not otherwise good. His diction is occasionally inaccurate and almost always uninspired and trite. "But it is only fair to remark . . ." (p. 139). "I would venture to say . . ." (p. 158). "With all possible haste . . ." (p. 150). Another characteristic of the author's style is a preference for a learned word over a simple one. "One is inclined to question the pleasantness of the porcine notes" (p. 11).

But Mr. Southworth's most annoying stylistic vice is his wittiness, which is sometimes arch, usually heavy, and frequently swollen with references which only the learned will get. "This was before the advent of Dame Grundy, but undoubtedly many of her ancestors were present—those from whom she inherited her talent for gossip" (p. 14). "Many years later . . . *Punch* was able to derive a comprehensive formula—and it required no knowledge of the calculus of finite differences—for the libretto of a Vauxhall ballet" (p. 96). "Tyers, with Hogarth's help, would make the gardens a sight to dream of and, unlike the unrobed Lady Geraldine, it would be a sight of which to tell" (p. 74).

Perhaps the question of whether this is bad writing is unimportant—it is certainly little worse than average scholarly writing. The charge of dullness can be brought against most monographs, and many remain important though the charge is proved. But the latter are those containing facts which, no matter how badly told, are of sufficient importance to be hunted out. Most of the facts about Vauxhall Gardens, or any other social institution, do not belong in this category. To a large extent it is the selection, arrangement, and expression of them which give them significance. It is curious that the scholarly world, whose research standards are so high, should be so indifferent to the quality of the language in which the results of that research are conveyed.

KARL PFEIFFER

State College of Washington



*John Sterling: A Representative Victorian.* By ANNE KIMBALL TUELL. New York: Macmillan Co., 1941. Pp. xiv + 405. \$3.50.

It is a strange accident that has given John Sterling such biographical longevity. In 1848 Julius Hare reluctantly wrote a memoir of his friend. In 1851 Carlyle reluctantly wrote another *Life* to correct what seemed to him the wilful distortion of Hare's biography. And now Miss Tuell writes to correct both Hare and Carlyle, giving us for the third time the story of a man of no considerable achievement, dead at thirty-eight, who lived much of his short life in spiritual turmoil and departed it with defeated aspirations—leaving behind him a few sincere though completely uninspired poems, essays, and tales. Miss Tuell succeeds, by dipping into a new reservoir of unpublished letters, in showing that Sterling was "more preoccupied with religion than Carlyle will acknowledge and far more than Carlyle knew." This, however, would be slight reason to resuscitate in full the story of the man whose slight talents and vibrant personality Carlyle had delineated in his tenderest and most quiet book. This present book adds nothing to Sterling's stature, either as man or artist. Nevertheless it has a real reason for existing. It does what neither Hare nor Carlyle, as contemporaries, could do: it displays the mind of John Sterling as "characteristic of his time."

The multitude of influences to which Sterling submitted, and the very mediocrity of his accomplishment—as well as his spiritual turmoil—help us to see more clearly than in the career of a more original writer the intellectual temper of the 1830's and 1840's. Sterling had courage and sensitiveness, as well as a distressing fluency. His involvement, with the other "Apostolic" brethren (Maurice, Trench, Kemble, Tennyson, and Hallam) in the abortive little Spanish rebellion of Torrijo in 1830; his colonial experiment as superintendent of a sugar colony in the West Indies; the "parlour-romanticism" of his embroidered tales in prose and verse, following Tieck and Novalis and Goethe and Wordsworth afar off; his dabbling in the aesthetic creeds of romantic idealism; his letters from the continent, "filled with enraptured contemplation of painting and sculpture" (of which Miss Tuell says, in her own way: "There is no harm in amusement at the flow of glad comment from the amateur—so softly slip the generalities of universal or extremely questionable delight . . ."); his conventional novel *Arthur Coningsby* and his still more conventional tragedy *Strafford*—all these help us to feel, by the very limitations of their derivative qualities, what Arnold called "the expiring wave" of the great generation of romanticism.

More importantly, Sterling's tortured religious gropings were symptomatic of an age in which Anglicanism, confronting the attacks of Strauss, Schleiermacher, and others, took refuge in savage attacks against all honest speculators doubtful about such things as plenary inspiration. As Miss Tuell points out, Coleridge's *Confes-*



*sions of an Inquiring Spirit* became the major thought of Sterling's radicalism; and undoubtedly Carlyle's anti-clericism had a deep influence on the younger man. Like Coleridge, Sterling loved to debate "first principles," and like Carlyle he was restive under dogma. As a matter of fact Sterling wanted to revivify Anglicanism by a kind of intellectual rebirth, and at this distance nothing seems clearer than the mildness of his heresy. All the more revealing, therefore, were the savage attacks of the Defenders of the Faith—until Sterling, as Carlyle put it, had nothing but "ghastly spectralities prowling round him, and inarticulately screeching and gibbering what they call their judgment on him." Ironically enough, solemnly as he had spoken of Sterling's spiritual "failure," Julius Hare, by the very fact that he had written the life of his friend, brought down upon himself a share of the common denunciation. It is an unedifying spectacle, this—a symptom of a generation which was becoming progressively less sure of its own intellectual and spiritual outposts.

Hare wrote because he felt a solemn obligation to explain as tenderly as possible the spiritual defection of Sterling. Carlyle wrote because he felt a solemn obligation to show Sterling as a victorious believer rather than a vanquished doubter. It is well that Miss Tuell should now place the problem in its contemporary setting. There are few other reasons, Sterling's accomplishment being what it was, for retelling a story which Carlyle had told so beautifully.

In a sense, Miss Tuell's story emerges in spite of herself. She has thrown the pattern of her narrative into an awkward arrangement which sacrifices an integrated development for an unwieldy and repetitive series of categories. Thus we have the first three chapters given over to "Sterling the Man" (as if Sterling "the man" were one thing and Sterling the writer and thinker another!); then a series of chapters on his radicalism, his reading, his discovery of the Germans, his writings, etc. And then finally (chapters X to XV) "Sterling in Account with Religion." It all adds up to something but lacks the well-knit quality of a superior biography.

A word must be said, too, about the prose style which Miss Tuell has developed. Too frequently, it seemed to this writer, one has to read sentences several times to extract their meaning. Syntax and vocabulary are often slightly out of register, and the result is a curious blurring of idea. Miss Tuell can write clearly and directly; it is the more regrettable, therefore, that, for the sake of whatever originality, she forces her thoughts so frequently into confused patterns. For example:

It [Carlyle's *Life*] deserves its reputation, besides, as comparison with its letter-sources plainly indicates, from an habitual tact and reserve in touch upon Sterling's privacies (p. 18).

Again:

John Stuart Mill, only once besides an enthusiast, in Sterling's last year besought of the dying man the will to live with a pleading which could summon from the grave's edge any soul that might return (p. 27).

And

Carlyle, still strongly affirming his Everlasting Yea, bore witness to an untouched Reality—and for other things held dear, grown questionable, no matter, good riddance.

It is unlikely that a fourth biography of John Sterling will ever be called for. Yet Miss Tuell, in this book, has contributed perceptibly to our knowledge of a provocatively interesting period in nineteenth-century literary and intellectual life.

JOHN W. DODDS

Stanford University

*Thackeray: A Critical Portrait.* By JOHN W. DODDS. New York: Oxford University Press, 1941. Pp. vii + 257. \$3.00.

If a man would be a critic, he should know his subject so well that he would write with confidence. Mr. Dodds' critical portrait of Thackeray is a splendid example of this generalization. He writes about Thackeray, not about what someone else has said or thought. Mr. Dodds set himself the task of knowing everything that Thackeray had written, and then, using this material, and trusting his own judgment, he forged ahead. Thus Mr. Dodds' book on Thackeray is more completely his own work than can be said of almost any modern professional scholar. It is encouraging as a method, it is intellectually a challenge to other critics, and it sets a standard for others to emulate.

Mr. Dodds gives us a chronological study of Thackeray's intellectual and artistic development. In following this plan he relates him to his time and place, and since Thackeray was always a man of thought, always seeking to create an art that would give a critical evaluation of his time, Mr. Dodds finds the portrait of the man in his ideas and his art forms. The moral grip of the age held Thackeray in his final judgments as securely as it held his contemporaries, but his reaction to and treatment of his time was always intellectual and not sentimental. From this study emerges a man whose mind was clear and sharp, and whose sensitivity to life was keen enough to give what he knew an appealing art form. In this respect Mr. Dodds' book makes one feel, to a remarkable degree, the fine mind of Thackeray in contrast to the sentimentality and profound ignorance of Dickens. Not that Mr. Dodds makes any such express statement, but because he forces upon one so strongly the conviction of Thackeray's mind dominating his material, he unavoidably raises a contrast with the mindless quality of Dickens' genius.

In this complete and satisfying study of Thackeray, Mr. Dodds has apparently left no scrap of Thackeray's writing unexamined. The task is performed with a convincing thoroughness. It is a calm

and measured judgment that gives one an understanding and appreciation of the man and his age. There is sympathy for Thackeray's personal tragedy, there is understanding of his limitations, admiration for his genius, and all is portrayed in a manner that is lucid and satisfying.

SOPHUS KEITH WINTHER

*University of Washington*

*The Nature of Literature: Its Relation to Science, Language, and Human Experience.* By THOMAS CLARK POLLOCK. Princeton University Press, 1942. Pp. xxiv + 218. \$3.00.

This book is one of the rather large number of studies whose ultimate ancestor is Ogden and Richards' *Meaning of Meaning*. Its primary purpose is to make such a "strategic classification" of the uses of language as will justify its very ambitious title. The chief classes are I, Phatic Communion; II, Referential Symbolism, subdivided into Pure Referential Symbolism and Pragmatic-Referential Symbolism; and III, Evocative Symbolism, divided into Literature and Pseudo-literature.

Phatic communion is the use of words merely to bring individuals into social communion, like the ordinary formulas of greeting, comments on the weather, conventional inquiries about health, etc.

Referential symbolism is the central concern of the *Meaning of Meaning*, but Pollock's classification and definition do not completely coincide with Ogden and Richards'. Pure referential symbolism is "the use of language which is primarily concerned with communicating knowledge of referents." A statement of scientifically demonstrable fact is the strictest form of pure referential symbolism. The use of language about which semanticists become most excited Pollock calls pragmatic-referential symbolism. "Pragmatic-referential statements are primarily concerned with stimulating emotions, attitudes, or actions in connection with specific referents." Most advertisements and political speeches, as well as slanted discussions of economics, history, sociology—"propaganda"—illustrate this use of language. Referential symbolism, both pure and pragmatic, is primarily concerned with abstractions generalized from many experiences.

Evocative symbolism is primarily concerned with the actual, individual, human experience. It is that use of language on which Pollock bases his theory of literature. "In literature the author attempts to express linguistically an experience of his own in such a way that the experience may be communicated to a reader. His purpose is thus *both* to express *and* to evoke a human experience." In pseudo-literature a writer is not concerned to express an experience of his own but merely to evoke linguistically in a reader some desired expe-

rience. Finally, Pollock insists that literature must not be restricted by any "value-definition" and that it "includes the poor as well as the good."

I doubt whether this theory of literature, clever as it appears, can meet with any considerable acceptance. Pollock insists upon objectivity. He does not, however, suggest any objective test to determine whether a writer has attempted to communicate an experience of his own to a reader or whether he has merely tried to evoke an experience in a reader. How is one to be definitely sure that the Homeric epics, the plays of Shakespeare and Molière, many of Chaucer's most effective tales, many of the world's most interesting novels—how is one to know whether these are literature or merely pseudo-literature? Any such assurance is not to be sought through study of the lives of the writers or the circumstances and environment which occasioned or conditioned their experiences, since, with the expected sneer, Pollock warns students of literature away from emphasis upon factual and historical studies. Further, Pollock's classification, it seems to me, may place wholly outside the realm of literature—or even of pseudo-literature—much of what is accepted as literature and will continue to be so considered. Many patriotic lyrics, much of the Bible, many of the essays of Bacon and Addison, much of Swift and Shelley, many of the novels of Dickens—to mention only a few items—would seem to be classified according to Pollock as pragmatic-referential symbolism. Nor do I believe that the mere communication by a writer of some experience of his, however banal and commonplace in itself and however dull and undistinguished in its form and phrasing, will be regarded as literature.

Though, in my judgment, this book has failed completely in its main purpose, it has very considerable incidental value to anyone really interested in psychological linguistics. The book is well produced and has been carefully proof-read; I have noted however a surprising *De Bello Gallicum* (p. 60). But any attentive reader will wish that Professor Pollock had followed in his footnotes some clear and consistent practice.

W. F. BRYAN

*Northwestern University*

*Directions in Contemporary Literature.* By PHILO M. BUCK, JR.  
New York: Oxford University Press, 1942. Pp. xiii + 353.  
\$2.25.

The main body of this book is a series of thirteen essays on contemporary writers. There is an Introduction entitled "Fear," and a Conclusion entitled "Till Hope Creates." A useful selected Bibliography and an Index are appended.

The writers studied are George Santayana, Gerhart Hauptmann, André Gide, Luigi Pirandello, Marcel Proust, Eugene O'Neill,

Rabindranath Tagore, Aldous Huxley, Jules Romain, Adolph Hitler, Mikhail Sholokhov, T. S. Eliot, Thomas Mann. Professor Buck makes no claim that the writers chosen are immortals. He does say that they are typical, and he has chosen them because they present "philosophies of life" that may aid in solving some of our contemporary problems, particularly the problem of fear. Professor Buck has found that a good share of contemporary literature expresses fear, distrust, even despair of man's past, present, and future. Therefore he proposes to examine contemporary writings in search of philosophies of hope; he would like to find a hope for freedom from fear. He deliberately omits discussion of Joyce, Hamsun, Thomas Wolfe, and Steinbeck because these writers are not philosophical, not much interested in ideas; their writings are too localized. He never mentions Shaw, Yeats, Sinclair Lewis, Hemingway, O'Casey, or Maugham. It is rather curious that Shaw is never mentioned, for he surely possesses many qualities that Professor Buck esteems: he is interested in ideas, he is a reformer, he eagerly shoulders the overstuffed pack of modern science, philosophy, economics, politics, psychology, and anthropology that Professor Buck believes modern writers ought to shoulder. But the author of *Heartbreak House* may offer too little hope, and he is probably not serious enough for Professor Buck, who repeatedly assures us that there is a "seriousness in contemporary literature that perhaps never before prevailed in the literature of Europe."

This preoccupation with philosophical ideas and problems colors nearly every page in the book. One of Professor Buck's favorites, *Men of Good Will* by Romain, is called the "epic of an idea." The plays of Tagore are interpreted as allegories. The plays of Pirandello are called "dramatic notes from an expert psychiatrist's notebook." The poetry of T. S. Eliot becomes an expression of contemporary Hell and Purgatory. Sholokhov's novels become representations of the corporate Russian state. Mann's voluminous fictions become statements of individual protestantism against mass creeds and traditions. Aldous Huxley becomes a "thinker and observer first," his fiction a means to moralizing. And so it goes. Even O'Neill's amateurish enthusiasms for Nietzsche, Freud, Strindberg, and Euripides are taken quite seriously, and his plays studied as moral tracts.

Any such preoccupation with the literature of ideas is apt, as Synge once suggested, to be somewhat "joyless and pallid." Professor Buck is not very happy with some of his findings. He is dissatisfied with Santayana's philosophy, with Eliot's religion, with Sholokhov's corporate state, with Huxley's neo-Quakerism, with Romain's naturalistic Unanimism. Mann's belief in the "perfectibility of the individual" seems to give him the most comfort. From all this confusion of tongues Professor Buck finally emerges with a synthesis borrowed from Montaigne's doctrine of self-reliance. He quotes with approval:

In the end I saw that it was safest to rely upon myself in my distress; and if it should so fall out that Fortune was too cold in offering me protection, to entrust myself more to my own and fix my eyes and thoughts more firmly on myself.

Professor Buck has a right to interpret contemporary literature as he wishes. But I regret that so learned, so widely read a man is digging in the overworked vein that too many journalists, columnists, and international "experts" are exploiting. I should like to see Professor Buck judge these contemporary writers as artists as well as philosophers, scientists, politicians, economists, psychologists, and anthropologists. Aside from a competent analysis of Proust's *Remembrance of Things Past*, the book seldom attempts to analyze form and expression in contemporary literature. There is next to nothing about the aesthetic of contemporary literature. Surely these writers have not altogether neglected the aesthetic dimensions of their craft. Even Jules Romain assures his reader that there is an underlying unity in *Men of Good Will*, and few readers will deny that Romain possesses unusual perception and often exhibits a fine dramatic sense. Though Professor Buck calls *The Last Puritan* "philosophy come to life," Santayana himself seems to say that it is first of all a novel, a work of fiction, a work of art. In the Epilogue we read:

Fiction is poetry, poetry is inspiration, and every word should come from the poet's heart, not out of the mouths of other people. . . . So with the characters themselves, I am not photographing real people and changing their names. On the contrary, wherever discretion permits, I keep the real names and the real places, just as Homer does. Real names have a wonderful atmosphere. But I recast, I re-live, I entirely transform the characters. They are creatures of the imagination. Imagination!

If I understand Santayana here, he is talking about form and expression, about the aesthetic of literature. And personally I wish that Professor Buck had paid more attention to aesthetic criticism.

But perhaps I am merely carping. It is true that Professor Buck does what he sets out to do. He demonstrates that contemporary literature expresses fear, distrust, confusion, and despair, and he is

able to find some philosophy of hope for peace and freedom. Many readers will find his criticisms and summaries both informing and stimulating.

MARVIN T. HERRICK

*University of Illinois*

*Anglo-American Literary Relations.* By GEORGE STUART GORDON. Prefatory Note by R. W. CHAPMAN. New York: Oxford University Press, 1942. Pp. 119. \$1.50.

This book by the late George Stuart Gordon consists of six lectures delivered in 1931 on the Watson Chair Foundation of the Sulgrave Manor Board, in University College, London. It is an attempt to present a generalized view of the field of Anglo-American literary relations from colonial times until the present. The lectures, each of which is about eighteen pages in length, have the following titles: I. "Early American Literature"; II. "The Rise of American Literature"; III. "Friendship in Letters"; IV. "British Authors in America"; V. "British Authors' Copyright"; VI. "The Literary Hopes of America." As almost one quarter of the volume is given over to quotation, it will readily be seen that the author has little enough space wherein to treat this vast and complex subject. The impatience he showed of the suggestion made by R. W. Chapman regarding the printing of these lectures (two of which are fragmentary) is understandable. However inadequate the volume, it is a welcome one, for it offers heartening evidence of the growing intellectual understanding between the two countries. In 1914, remarks the author, "there existed in this country no stated teaching of American History; in no British University, or in any other institution of learning and enlightenment in this island, was any Chair, Lectureship, or other rostrum to be found for the dissemination of truth about the History, Literature, and Institutions of certainly the most numerous, and in some respects most powerful and impressive portion of the English-speaking world" (p. 11). This quotation makes apparent the necessity for such a lecture-series and for the publication of such a volume. Whereas in the United States there has long been a lively interest in British history and literature, the reciprocation of such interest has long been lagging.

The most entertaining lecture is the fourth, "British Authors in America." We are here treated to all too little of Mrs. Trollope's adventures in the United States, to a more generous portion of Dickens' misadventures, to some bits about Marryat, to a glimpse of Thackeray and Herbert Spencer, and to provokingly little of Matthew Arnold. There is a wealth of material left untouched which awaits the investigator of our literary relations to Britain. What were the impressions of the American scene on such an odd lot as, for example, G. P. R. James, Martin Fraquhar Tupper, Francis Jeffrey, Samuel Lover, and John Galsworthy? It would be interesting to know what light book reviews have shed upon the question of British-American relations. Which reviews have indicated a true *rapprochement* and which have tended to estrangement? When Amy Lowell's *John Keats* appeared in 1925, one British reviewer remarked that the Americans had invaded the "sacred pre-



cincts" of English biography! Surely we must have produced something to match such ineptitude.

A considered treatment of this whole subject has not yet been made. Daily the question grows more and more complex and ramified. The time is ripe for an extended study of this lively, pertinent, and important matter of which the present volume is merely a sketch.

CHARLES DUFFY

Louisiana State University

*Ulrich Zwingli.* By DIETER CUNZ. Aarau: Verlag H. R. Sauerländer & Co., 1942. Pp. 67.

Within the compass of sixty-seven pages Cunz, on the basis of Staehelin, Koehler, Wernle, etc., presents in very readable form the life, work, and thought of the Swiss reformer. Cunz writes with the ease which usually accompanies mastery of the entire *einschlägige* literature. His style, happily, has none of the characteristics of the writing which has emanated from Germany during the past few decades: it is simple and forthright, and, translated into any other language, would still make sense. His half page of *Literaturangaben* vouches for proper authority even for one who, like this reviewer, knows Zwingli directly only through a few sermons and indirectly through Koehler and Wernle. In twenty-four pages Cunz tells the story of Zwingli's life and activities; twenty-six pages give a survey of the theology and political theory. The whole is preceded by a valuable account of the Swiss backgrounds and is followed by a comparison of Luther and Zwingli.

Brief though the study is, it nonetheless summarizes adequately all the salient features of this reformer, who in some ways might well have a greater appeal for our century than either Luther or Calvin. Zwingli's relations with Humanism and the Humanists; the theocratic ideas—exemplified later in Geneva and in Massachusetts—growing out of a peculiar ecclesiastical and political and geographic Swiss situation; the solution of the quarrel with the Anabaptists; the political activities, so frequently frustrated by the "a-political" Lutherans; the predestinarian theology; and the controversy over the Sacrament—all are lucidly presented.

Curiously enough, Cunz consistently uses the word *Vorsehung* for foreknowledge. Isn't "Vorsehung" *providentia* and "Vorhersehung" *prescientia*? In Rom. 8:29, Luther has *Zuvor ersehen*. It is doubtful also whether a true predestinarian would say that "faith" is ever really "rewarded" (p. 12).

J. H. GROTH

Eastern Washington College of Education

*China in German Poetry from 1773 to 1833.* By ELIZABETH SELDON. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1942. University of California Publications in Modern Philology, Volume 25, No. 3. Pp. x + 141-316.

This excellent dissertation begins with a discussion of the concept of China in the eighteenth century. Though this is well-known material, it was well to point out that not all the *objets d'art* which were exported from the Orient were first-class works and, it may be added, that not all of the ideas which Europe received from China represented China's best thinking.

After a brief treatment of Frederick the Great, Herder, Wieland, etc., in which the really meager information regarding China is indicated, the author goes on to a discussion of the actual poets and the thought of China. What slight information there was, was almost exclusively Confucian; the great Buddhist and Taoist traditions were almost unknown because they did not appeal to the Jesuits from whom most of this information came. Thus China took a fixed and traditional place in European thinking from which it has only recently moved.

Unzer's interesting and pedantic "Elegie" (Vou-ti) is analyzed. The author makes the shrewd observation that "Europe in the eighteenth century had no common experience of the thinking of the Chinese as human beings; it had merely a collection of facts about them," a statement which, by and large, holds for most persons even today. Her statement that the "Vou-ti" is "the first attempt at visualizing, not the proverbial, mechanically functioning Chinese, but one moved by the common laws of the human soul . . ." is interesting in the light of the analysis of Chinese novels offered by Horst von Tschärner in his description of the novels of the previous period. The huge *Sammelsurria* of the later seventeenth century left no room for real emotions among the Chinese. They were so much occupied in presenting the unusual, the drastic, or later on, the eminently rational, that they never presented the fact that, as John Dewey says, "The Chinese really are."

After a discussion of the Later Romanticists, the author gives an account of the relations of Goethe and China. It is worthwhile to have noted the changes in attitude of Goethe toward China, a carefully prepared account, but neither Dr. Seldon nor Professor von Tschärner has said the final word on this subject. It seems to the reviewer that the more intuitive approach of Richard Wilhelm in some of his almost forgotten essays comes nearer the spirit of Goethe and China. And it might be added that the Romanticists came to the Orient not merely because of its exotic connotations, but because they found there some of their desired "universalism." That Confucianism with its rather jejune emotional content did not offer as much of the ineffable as would either Buddhism or Taoism have offered, the latter with its doctrine of "Wu Wei," mentioned by Dr. Seldon, is beside the point. The fact is, as Professor Rowbotham has

clearly shown, that there was a series of new and awakening ideas coming from China to Europe and the expansion caught the Romantics as well as the Rationalists.

Treatments of German literature and China leave Schiller very much out. Unimportant are his "Sprüche des Confucius" and his minor preoccupations with China. Much more significant, as I hope some day to be able to point out, are the rather striking parallels between his "*Asthetische Bfe*" and the Confucian doctrine of "Li Yüeh," a parallel which arises from no possible influences.

The most important part of Dr. Seldon's book is her analysis of Rückert's renditions of the *Shih Ching*. Her research is significant and original and imposes a debt of gratitude for a very careful investigation on all of us who are interested. She finds Rückert's source to be Lacharme's Latin version and gives a brief history of this rare work. Her division of the material into the themes of love, loneliness, friendship, and nature is very clarifying. A point which has to be made by all who discuss Chinese lyric poetry enters here—the relation of any translation from the Chinese to the written form of the original. It is a well-understood fact that the ideograms in some, and often in large, measure take the place of the descriptive epithet of Occidental verse. How is this difference to be made up? Mrs. Ayscough and Amy Lowell frankly add adjectives and circumlocutions, but this procedure is very unsatisfactory, because the selection is purely personal, no matter how carefully trained the Sinologists may be. Waley and Obata try to make the individual poem speak for itself and Waley's introductions take care of the difficulty in more scientific form. Legge, who did not like Chinese poetry and who was suspicious of all Chinese ethics, made straight literal and extremely wooden translations. Rückert knew that he had a difficult task before him and tried to make his poems real poems, but it must be confessed that they are German and not Chinese verse. The reviewer has lectured a number of times on the *Shih Ching* and whenever he has used illustrative material, he has found that the Legge version, in spite of all of its obvious failings, makes a better impression on listeners than either Rückert's or that of Victor von Straus.

None of these remarks detracts in the least from the value of Dr. Seldon's book. She has been very carefully trained and though she does not seem to know Chinese, she has used secondary sources well and has been advised by some of our most able Sinologists. The fact that she recognizes the refrain character of the endings in The Odes and that she understands the value of their nature introductions is sufficient proof of this schooling. Rückert used only that section of the odes called the "Kuo Fêng" and thus the question of the relation of lyric to liturgy which would have come up in any treatment of the "Ya" and "Sung" sections is avoidable. There is ample documentation and a good bibliography. The index is brief but accurate. I recommend the book not only for its factual material, but for its method and treatment of the theme.

GEORGE H. DANTON

Union College

*German Works Relating to America, 1493-1800. A List Compiled from the Collections of the New York Public Library.* By PAUL BEN BAGINSKY. New York: The New York Public Library, 1942. Pp. xv + 217.

The author of this compilation of more than 1500 references began, several years ago, to write a book on the development of the notion of America in Germany, and presently his preliminary bibliography grew to majestic proportions. It would indeed be desirable to have somewhere a list of all early German published references to America, but the holdings of the New York Public Library are so extensive that no important aspect is concealed, and the references are abundant enough to keep investigators busy for years to come. If a similar compilation is ever undertaken at Göttingen or some other suitable place, the work will be expedited by Baginsky's check list.

Every bibliographer and librarian knows the intensity of concentration required to report accurately a single item of book lore. For the period 1493-1600, Baginsky has undertaken to give complete titles, line by line, followed by whatever additional information is deemed essential. The later, somewhat shortened, entries are treated with equal exactitude. If any criticism were to be offered, it would be that the work is too meticulous. The *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, and the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* are entered probably over a thousand times as reviewers, and the full title of the journal and even the size of the volume is given whenever they appear as a main entry. It is painful to reflect how often the compiler wrote out "*Historisches Portefeuille zur Kenntniss der gegenwärtigen und vergangenen Zeit* Wien [date] 12°" or "*Almanach Américain, Asiatique et Africain ou état physique, politique, ecclésiastique et militaire de l'Asie, de l'Afrique [sic] et de l'Amérique*, Paris; beim Verfasser und Leroy . . . 12°." A code of abbreviations could have done away with such repetitions and with it we might have had a list of all journals searched so that later investigators could discover at a glance whether they were covering new land or gleaning after Baginsky. On the other hand, certain other entries are so short as to be inconvenient to any one but the "Fachmann." Such indications as "Harrisse, no. 57," "Sabin 5007," "Kayser, vol. 3, p. 328A" will be puzzling to the casual consultants, of whom there will be many. I notice the apparent omission of Heinsius, which often gives information not duplicated in Kayser.

It is a common custom to find fault with a bibliographer for what he has not done or for what he might have done differently, rather than to thank him for what he has self-sacrificingly offered to his co-workers, and to end with a long sheaf of corrections. The German periodicals of the eighteenth century often permitted themselves to review translations under their German titles with no mention of the title of the foreign original. Baginsky has supplied the original in many instances. A complete routine search through the authorities would have yielded additional titles and even author names. To 439

I may say that [Wedderburn's] *Inkle and Yarico*, London, 1742, is not the original of the *Inkle und Yariko* of 1768, the author of which is J. H. Faber. My "Album" which is quoted as the authority gives a different account of the relationship. In 861 for "Clamor Schmidt" read "Clamer Schmidt." No. 1034 listed under the year 1790 and No. 1122 listed under 1792 are practically identical except that the London dates are contradictory. This is a small collection of errors resulting from a rather close scrutiny. My conclusion is that the number of actual errors is astonishingly few.

The index (pp. 173-217) was compiled by Karl Brown, which, Baginsky says, makes him in fact a co-author. The index is rich, generous, and satisfying, and must have been the labor of months. I suspect that at some late stage it was slightly abbreviated, as a few of the cross references are blind alleys, for example those under Evans, Oliver; Keate, George; Magee, Bernard; Pendleton, Edmund. I have ascertained that the entry "Rogers, Robert" of the index is correct, although in the text, no. 916, the name appears as Major Roberts. All in all we have to congratulate the authors on the technical excellence of their work as well as on the completion of a forbiddingly extensive but useful reference book.

LAWRENCE M. PRICE

*University of California*

*Anthology of Norwegian Lyrics.* Translated by CHARLES WHARTON STORK, with Introduction by C. J. HAMBRO. Princeton University Press, 1942. Published for the American-Scandinavian Foundation. Pp. xxxvi + 153. \$2.75.

Dr. Charles Wharton Stork's *Anthology of Norwegian Lyrics* in English translation will give great pleasure and satisfaction to all lovers of Norwegian literature and culture. It brings before American readers a practically unknown field of Norwegian literature within which Norwegian genius has produced much of imperishable greatness.

The lyric poetry of a people is usually the last part of its literature to be translated into foreign languages, and where the language is limited to a race inconsiderable in numbers, it often remains untranslated. By this anthology and by his earlier excellent translations of Swedish poetry Dr. Stork has rendered Scandinavian literature and the world of culture an inestimable service.

In this anthology, as in his previous translations, Dr. Stork has solved successfully a very difficult problem: the production of a readable and at the same time essentially faithful verse translation. All verse translation is at best a compromise; of the two important elements, meaning and form, each is apt to suffer because of the

other. Dr. Stork has with great skill and tact made the compromise that every successful translator of poetry must make; he has preserved the form and slightly modified the meaning, either by omission of the non-essential or by the substitution of something similarly significant where the exigencies of the form demand this. The result has sometimes been a more felicitous expression of an idea than in the original; because of the numerous emotional and linguistic undertones similar ideas must be expressed differently in different languages.

Dr. Stork's translations show a surprising appreciation of Scandinavian spirit and mood. Even the unusually great poetical suggestiveness of many of the words used in Scandinavian poetry has in him found a sensitive interpreter. Occasionally one would have preferred an omission or an adequate prose translation, when the absolute exquisite perfection of the original defies every attempt at translation; I am thinking especially of such inimitable gems as the first stanza of the Norwegian national anthem, of whose tender and gripping beauty no verse translation hampered by form can give an adequate idea.

The flaws of this anthology are few and the merits are many and great. Lovers of Norwegian literature are grateful to Dr. Stork for these translations and also to the Princeton University Press and the American-Scandinavian Foundation, whose collaboration has made this wealth of beauty available to American readers.

E. J. VICKNER

*University of Washington*

## BOOKS RECEIVED

### ENGLISH

- Baldwin, T. W. William Shakspeare's Petty School. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1943. Pp. 240. \$3.00.
- Barker, Arthur. Milton and the Puritan Dilemma, 1641-1660. University of Toronto Press, 1942. Pp. xxiv + 440. \$3.75.
- Brown, Arthur C. L. The Origin of the Grail Legend. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1943. Pp. 476. \$5.00.
- Dobbie, Elliott Van Kirk (editor). The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems. [The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, no. 6.] New York: Columbia University Press, 1942. Pp. clxxx + 220. Illus. \$4.50.
- Eliot, T. S. The Classics and the Man of Letters. New York: Oxford University Press, 1943. Pp. 27. 25 cents.
- Gascoigne, George. George Gascoigne's *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*. [Edited, with introduction and notes, by C. T. Prouty.] Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri Studies, vol. XVII, no. 2, 1942. Pp. 305. \$2.50.
- Mossner, Ernest Campbell. The Forgotten Hume. Le bon David. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943. Pp. xv + 251. \$3.00.
- Shumaker, Eri J. A Concise Bibliography of the Complete Works of Richard Henry (Hengist) Horne (1802-1884). Granville, Ohio: privately printed, 1943. Pp. vi + 14.

### FRENCH

- Hunt, Herbert J. (with Foreword by Gustave Rudler). The Epic in Nineteenth-Century France. A Study in Heroic and Humanitarian Poetry from *Les Martyrs* to *Les Siècles Morts*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1941. Agent for U.S.A., William Salloch, 344 East 17th Street, New York. Pp. xii + 446. \$6.25.

### GERMAN

- Phelps, William G. Lessing, the Champion of Universal Brotherhood. Shreveport, La.: Centenary College, 1939. Pp. 38. 40 cents.



## PORTUGUESE

- Richardson, E. L., Maria de Lourdes SÁ Pereira, Milton SÁ Pereira (editors). *Modern Portuguese-English, English-Portuguese Dictionary*. Philadelphia: David McKay Co., 1943. Pp., Pt. I, 179; Pt. II, 347. \$3.00.

## SPANISH

- Hilton, Ronald. *Four Studies in Franco-Spanish Relations*. University of Toronto Press, 1943. Pp. vii + 57. \$1.25.
- Spaulding, Robert K. *How Spanish Grew*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1943. Pp. xii + 259. \$2.50.

## SPANISH-AMERICAN\*

- Gonzalez, Diego. *Didactica o Direccion del Aprendizaje. Parte Generale* (2nd ed.). Havana, Cuba: Osbequio de Cultural, S.A., 1943. Pp. xvii + 400.
- Marinello, Juan. *Picasso. Sin Tiempo*. Havana, Cuba: Úcar, García y Cía, 1942. Pp. 31.

## GENERAL

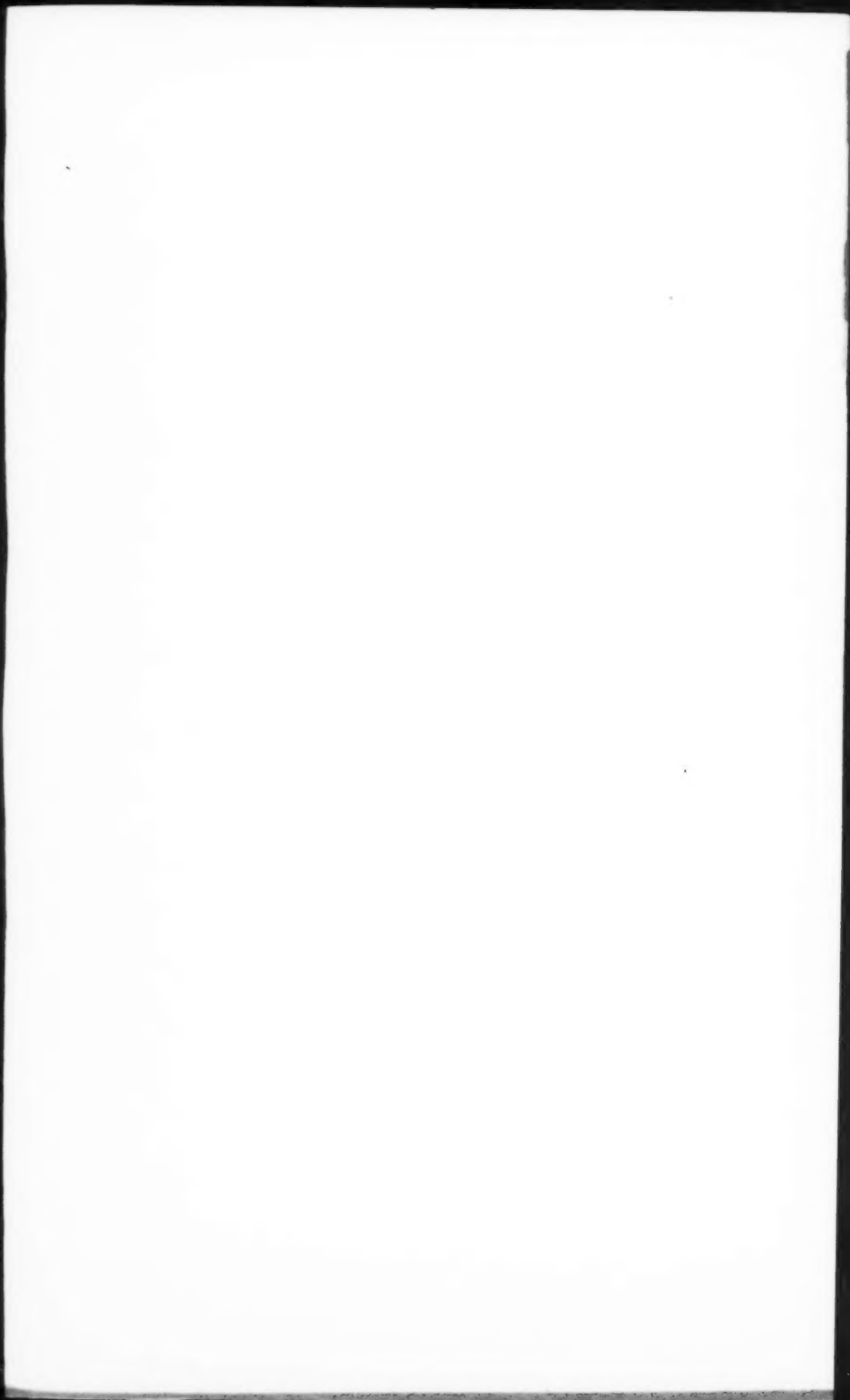
- Hall, Robert A., Jr. *Melanesian Pidgin English. Grammar, texts, vocabulary*. Baltimore: Waverly Press, 1943. Published by the Linguistic Society of America and the Intensive Language Program of the American Council of Learned Societies. This edition identical with the one published for the U.S. Armed Forces Institute. Pp. 159. \$2.50.
- Kristeller, Paul Oskar. *The Philosophy of Marsilio Ficino*. [Translated into English by Virginia Conant.] New York: Columbia University Press, 1943. Pp. xiv + 441. \$4.50.
- Newmark, Maxim. *Dictionary of Science and Technology in English-French-German-Spanish*. Containing 10,000 current terms in the English language most frequently used in the physical sciences and their applied fields, together with separate indices in French, German, and Spanish, conversion tables, and technical abbreviations. New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1943. Pp. viii + 386. \$6.00.

---

\* Books received which treat non-literary aspects of Spanish-America will be found listed, and in many cases reviewed, in the *Revista Iberoamericana*.







# **PRAIRIE SCHOONER**

## ***The Literary Talent Scout of the Midlands***

Nation-wide recognition for excellence has won for this quarterly an outstanding place, which it has held for a decade and a half, on the American literary scene. Top-ranking authors, whose works are constantly appearing in book form on the literary market, have won their spurs in its pages, and stories, articles, and poetry that count among the nation's best are continually published by PRAIRIE SCHOONER.

L. C. WIMBERLY, *Editor*

Subscription price, 1 year: \$1.00

Single copy, 30 cents

UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA

Lincoln, Nebraska

# **THE FRENCH REVIEW**

Published six times a year by the American Association of  
Teachers of French

## **Literary and Pedagogical Articles, Reviews, Etc.**

Annual membership of A.A.T.F., including subscription to the Review: \$2.50. Libraries and schools: \$2.00. Single copy: 50 cents.

Send check or money order to Secretary-Treasurer,  
George B. Watts, Davidson College, Davidson, N. C.

